# The Nation

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## The Week

NOT since August 1, 1914, has anything come out of Europe to stir the pulse and fire imagination like the news from Russia. Wherever there are men of liberal minds, wherever there is a belief in democracy, people are rejoicing wholeheartedly that the Russian autocrat, disgraced by innumerable cruelties and massacres perpetrated during his reign, has been driven from his throne, and with him the whole crew of pro-German intriguers who have been paralyzing Russia by selfishness, greed, and bureaucratic inefficiency. One must go back at least to 1848, when all Europe was seething in revolt, to parallel the thrill that this word will bring to struggling men everywhere. It is the first visible sign of that democratization of the world which must come if civilization is to profit by the unparalleled bloodshed of this terrific world-war. This spectacle of a nation rising to free itself from mediævalism, with a foreign foe at the door, must quicken every one's faith in humanity, as it brings visions of a Russia enlightened, modernized, freed from its fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul that has been the tomb of its patriots, and from that Siberia which has spelled for all the world supreme suffering for freedom—the last word in crushing, autocratic domination of an aspiring, liberty-seeking people.

ALMOST, it would seem, as if to lend the last touch to the world-drama at Petrograd, Nicholas Romanoff has abdicated in favor of Michael Romanoff. It was a Michael Romanoff whom the Grand National Assembly of the Russian people chose for its ruler in 1613 after years of civic turmoil and foreign domination. What the Russian people gave the Russian people have taken away. With a sweep of the hand it has stripped off the prestige and authority of three hundred years of dynastic power, and once more history has given warning to the rulers ensconced in the consciousness of their "divine" authority that there is a mortal end to their divinity. We are living in a Götterdämmerung of the Kings and Viceregents of God. In the space of less than eight years the people has laid its hand on the successor of the Prophet at Constantinople, on the Son of Heaven at Peking, and on the Head of the Holy Orthodox Church at Petrograd. No wonder that the reverberations of the last great act are sounding through the Empire in Europe whose ruler has capitalized the alliance of Hohenzollern and Providence. The turmoil in Germany, the anxieties in Austria, are the justification of Bismarck's old apprehensions of what would happen to all the autocrats when once an autocrat fell.

THE sinking of the three American steamers reported on Monday intensifies, if it does not change, the German situation. The fact that there was a considerable loss of American lives will add much to the overwhelming indictment of German lawlessness which Mr. Wilson is certain to lay before Congress when it convenes. These sinkings finally shatter the hope that there were secret orders to German submarines to overlook American vessels, or to sink them in conformity with accepted rules of international law, as they will accelerate the arming of American vessels and bring up anew the question of convoys. One of the worst and least excusable features of it all is that two of the ships sunk were homeward bound in ballast, and could not be suspected of adding by their voyages to England's ability to hold out against her enemy. It was wanton destruction of a neutral's vessels. We can hardly believe that Mr. Wilson will hasten the meeting of Congress, but it is quite possible that he may now resort to measures in advance of that meeting from which he would otherwise have refrained. Incidentally, it is gratifying to note that the Chinese Republic takes precisely the same legal grounds in breaking with Germany which we have taken, and quite as emphatically.

TORPEDOING of another Belgian relief ship—the second within a fortnight—was tragic proof of the way in which German submarines are running amuck. All of these food-ships for Belgium, as Mr. Hoover has explained, sail under a German pledge of safe-conduct. But what is this worth when commanders of submarines lose their heads in the rage to sink everything they meet? A few more of these "unfortunate accidents" and the good faith of the German Government will appear no better than a rope of sand, even when it is a question of saving millions of innocent non-combatants from starvation. The relief work in Belgium has its acute perils without a wanton destruction of supplies at sea. Mr. Hoover has arranged to have the actual administrative work transferred to Dutch or Spanish hands, in event of war with Germany. In any case, the appeal of the helpless Belgians to American philanthropy —and to American abundance—becomes more compelling than ever.

IN a remarkable editorial Dr. Theodor Wolff, of the Berlin *Tageblatt*, writes:

> One would eat the daily turnip with more appetite, if convinced that it did not smell of other culinary pleasures in certain places. But when we hear everybody returning from the country and the more favored little towns tell with satiated smiles of the eggs they discovered in nests out there and the butter that is shining on huge slices of bread, it is then that turnips fail to inspire us with enthusiasm.

He openly charges that the German Government's control of the food supply is ineffective and that in certain rural districts there is plenty of nourishing food to be had. Not content with thus asserting that German efficiency is not in evidence in the matter of food and that crowds come daily from the country laden with provisions, Dr. Wolff launches an attack upon the privileged classes, and particularly the Junkers, which ought to prove conclusively that if Liberal Germany is for the moment, as Dr. Wolff recently cabled to the New York *Evening Post*, lined up behind the Government on the U-boat issue, there is going to be the sharpest kind of battling for reform when the war is over. "The times," he writes, "are ripe for fearless innovations," and he warns the Junkers and their political leaders that

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they "make an extraordinary mistake if they show inability to understand the seriousness of the situation." If Dr. Wolff can speak out like this in war-time, what will he and others not say when peace comes? In them rests a better hope of crushing the spirit of militarism than in the weapons of their enemies.

WE may still speak of the German retirement in France in terms of shortened fronts and eliminated salients, but these words have little meaning now because of the scale on which they are projected. Before Verdun and the Somme we measured advance and retreat in hundreds of feet. To-day we are talking in dozen of miles. The war of the trenches along nearly half of the western front has ended. Cavalry is in motion. It is no longer coal heaps and factories that are being occupied, but towns and cities. The retrograde movement is extending to the entire German line. It is falling back north of the Aisne. It may be retiring at any moment from the Champagne. It may be drawing out of the Argonne woods. We are at the beginning of the most important phase since the Marne. Taking the west by itself, speculation as to the causes of the German retirement ranges over the entire field. German retreat may have been absolutely forced by fear of an approaching grand attack by the Allies. Or it may be a voluntary movement with a strategic purpose, such as to draw the Allies out of the trenches into open warfare, leading, in the heat of pursuit, to a dislocation of the Allied line like the fatal German error in the pursuit before the Marne. Or the retirement may be partly forced and partly voluntary, with the purpose of economizing men and munitions for use elsewhere. Whatever may be the impelling cause, whether it is necessity or design, it must be of far-reaching extent in order to justify the enormous blow to German prestige—the enormous acceleration of Allied confidence which it has already produced. It seems almost certain now that the retreat will not stop until the Germans have reached the line of Lille-Cambrai-St. Quentin-Laon and the Aisne, north of Rheims. When that has happened, nearly one-third of the conquered soil of France will have been liberated. No one will venture to predict how soon after that the battle-line will become fixed once more. Either Hindenburg's need must be great or his purpose must be ambitious. In the light of events in Russia we may speculate that perhaps it was Hindenburg's expectation to lead a disciplined and contemptuously superior Germany in a new attack against an autocracy in dissolution. He finds himself facing the armies of a free people, and behind him the German people wondering whether Germany is to remain the only autocratic Government in Europe.

THE surrender of the railways in their contest with the labor unions seems absolute. They have conceded things which last summer they declared they could not possibly agree to. Moreover, on the question of the eight-hour day, the concession was not to be affected even were the Supreme Court to hold the Adamson law to be unconstitutional. That is, the Brotherhoods had finally won the eight-hour day even without the aid of the Supreme Court, whose long-expected decision now settles the matter finally. Mr. Lee has made good his threat that he would obtain his ends before war was declared, and it was doubtless owing to the threatened imminence of hostilities that he was able to achieve this success. In other words, the railway managers were the ones to put the welfare of the country as they saw it above their own interests, while the Brotherhoods are in the unenviable position of having needlessly used an emergency to drive the employers into a corner. It is a situation out of which the American people will get very little comfort. Doubtless the bankers behind the roads used considerable pressure upon the railway presidents, and the latter were the more willing to yield because of the remarkably large earnings during the past year. What will happen when earnings begin to fall off again? And does any one believe that this will mean the end of labor-union exactions from the railways?

THE chronology of the dispute since November 1 may be run over to show that the Brotherhoods have repeatedly deferred action in less critical times than these. By Thanksgiving Day, when a Federal District Court in Missouri had declared the Eight-Hour law unconstitutional, and various lines had sworn out injunctions against its enforcement, railway men were loudly asserting that they would strike if the law were not in effect on January 1. Yet, on January 1, following a fruitless conference with the companies on December 28, they seemed temporarily satisfied with the arrangement between Government and railways by which pay-roll records were to be kept in such manner that extra back pay might be given the men if the decision should be favorable to them. A conference of Brotherhood heads in the second week of January determined upon postponement of action. In the closing days of February it was declared that the Brotherhoods would not wait till after March 5 for the Supreme Court decision. Yet Inauguration Day came and passed with another postponement.

WITHDRAWAL, temporarily, of the Colombian treaty left the extra session of the Senate free to adjourn. But it did not leave Americans free to forget the duty of proceeding with this effort to settle an international controversy and to make the country's honor clear. It is understood that the interval before the Senate meets again is to be utilized in making certain minor changes in the treaty in order to meet objection. There is no hint that the President has abandoned his main purpose. The recalling of the treaty is only *reculer pour mieux sauter*.

FOR any large immediate increase in our output of cargo vessels the United States must depend on wooden-ship yards, for the yards building steel vessels are working to capacity. The Shipping Board is taking commendable action in its attempt to stimulate and organize the construction of wooden ships. The country is now building at the rate of some 800,000 tons of shipping yearly. As materials for wooden ships are almost unlimited, and as little more than ordinary skill is required of the workmen, much more than this can be turned out; but the wooden-ship industry must first be put on a comprehensively efficient footing. The Shipping Board is planning rapid construction of wooden vessels of 3,000 to 4,000 tons in standard designs, with workmen trained in large numbers for carefully coördinated functions, and with the lumber companies, railways, and makers of marine engines coöperating. The word standardization ought to strike a responsive chord in American industry. Our manufacturing history is a long record of standardization followed by rapid and economical production. The demand for ships for years will outrun supply,

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and there will be little difficulty in enlisting capital in the industry, given sound organization; such organization the Government and individual enterprise promise to supply.

"IT is the opinion of the Commission that further increase in circular prices this spring by failure to grant the customary discounts could not be justified on the basis of increased cost." In this warning by the Federal Trade Commission to the anthracite companies, based upon an investigation of coal-mining, is further evidence of its determination to adjust prices directly. It had previously sought to fix the price of print paper. We do not question either the justice or the necessity of these rulings, but the novel nature of the procedure cannot escape notice. Two public policies are becoming more and more sharply defined: the Department of Justice demands competition, no matter how reasonable the prices of the monopolist may be; the Trade Commission attempts to adjust and arbitrate business conditions with a view to bringing about a "fair" price. In the latter view the existence of monopoly or competition is wholly secondary.

INCREASED wages are not the only factor in the laborer's welfare. Of equal importance is steadiness of employment. Figures compiled by the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics show that, in the same establishments in thirteen industries, eleven have an increase of employment over the previous year, while the total pay-roll shows an increase in every one of them. It is this lessening of unemployment which renders comparisons between the increase in daily wages and prices of such doubtful value. More accurate are comparisons between yearly earnings and prices, but these, besides being difficult to estimate, must of necessity trail so far behind actual events as to be practically worthless. Taking such facts as are now available, with due reservations, *Bradstreet's* shows a rise in prices during the year of 25.7 per cent.; the total pay-roll of identical establishments increased 43 per cent., and the average wages of those actually employed increased 25.2 per cent. These facts do not, of course, give a complete picture, for increases of wage have been very irregular. While in some industries they have been greater than the rise in prices, in others, notably the clothing trades, they have been very much less.

WHEN is an economist not an economist? If he is a Scott Nearing he may be so pretty often, and he is certainly so when he is "hampered in his work by an element clamoring for war." Hegel was not "hampered" in his philosophy even when the French approached Jena. William James felt strongly about many things not connected with psychology, but never intimated that his feelings interfered with his research. Shaler doubtless felt strongly about reconstruction, but didn't resign from Harvard because Northern views hurt his geological work. Perhaps Professor Nearing, of Toledo University, is doing the country a benefit by showing to what an absurd extreme the assumption of some specialists may be carried that their specialty covers all thought. Otherwise the American of 1935 might read: "Dean Blank, the noted authority on Italian mediæval law and administration, has resigned his post in Dash University because the tone of Senate speeches on the tariff makes it impossible to continue his lectures."

A MORAL equivalent of war unlisted by William James is the debate in Germany over using Gothic or Roman characters. It would be useless to attempt to summarize either side of the case short of an octavo volume. The roots of the controversy reach far back into history, when—perhaps—the Gothic characters, now regarded as true German, were French. One feels that those on the Gothic side must be pretty hard pressed when they cite the usage of other countries. Is the use of Gothic in titles of American newspapers, and the vote of Frenchmen that those characters are most suitable for works printed in German, evidence for or against them? Much more conclusive, we should suppose, is Dr. Schackwitz's pronouncement that while the reading of a certain amount of matter printed in Roman requires 24,500 movements of the eyes, the same amount in Gothic requires only 17,000 movements. The discussion may be a happy omen of the return of the day when German thoroughness provoked a smile rather than a shudder.

A BILL introduced in Parliament reflects the disquiet caused by American purchase of works of art from British owners, crippled by the war. The bill empowers the trustees of the National Gallery to dispose of duplicates or of pictures which they thought unnecessary—with the purpose of establishing a fund wherewith to compete with American buyers. It is thought that the bill looks particularly at the collection of two thousand of Turner's productions owned by the National Gallery; and it has been opposed by those who regard all the National Gallery's possessions as a sacred trust, or who do not believe that the trustees' judgment would be sound. A painter suggests a 10 per cent. tax on all works of art exported. It is thought impracticable to follow Italy in forbidding works of art generally to leave the country. To agents for the American millionaire or public gallery, European artistic disorganization will always be welcome. But the plan to make it easier for a nation to get rid of works of an artist or style of which many examples will remain before selling unique works has common-sense. The 10 per cent. tax might be clapped on also.

THE death of M. Labori recalls France's deepest humiliation and her highest triumph. The loss of Alsace-Lorraine was unimpressive to the world outside in comparison with the revelations which are associated with the name of Dreyfus. Metz and Sedan meant defeat, but not shame. Yet if France had her Henrys and Esterhazys, she had one who, though only a private citizen, was more than a match for them. Zola's campaign for justice for the prisoner was more dramatic than anything that came from his pen, while Labori proved himself an able and successful associate. The main part of their complicated task was to pillory militarism without scandalizing the army, to undo a great wrong without undoing a nation, and in this instance it was peculiarly difficult to make clear the distinction between a people and those who officially spoke for it. Hence it is not surprising that the vindication of Dreyfus—and his country—came piecemeal, even though in the end it was complete. The larger result of the *cause célèbre* was its contribution to the creation of the new France which the war did not so much bring into being as reveal. The disclosure of rottenness was turned into a warning, with the consequence of spiritual preparation for such a testing as no one dreamed could be at hand.

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# New Russia and the War

WITH a single gesture the Russian people has won its own freedom and lifted a heavy burden from the shoulders of the Entente. The democratic nations of Western Europe have been emancipated from the handicap of Czarism and have won a new ally—democratic Russia. To the nations engaged in the defence of public law against the power of the mailed fist, and of the right of the little peoples against the ambitions of *Weltmacht*, it has been from the beginning a pain and a drag that their necessary partner should be the Russia of Polish oppression and Kishineff massacres, the Russia of corrupt and stupid bureaucrats, of witch-doctors and bribe-takers and Black Hundreds. For the sake of expediency the Western Allies have chosen to overlook, but they have not been able to forget. The dark forces in Russia took good care to thrust the bitter reminder upon the conscience of Western Europe and of the neutral world. Have the people of the United States stopped to think how much of the pro-Germanism we deplore is not pro-Germanism at all, but anti-Czarism? If we bear in mind the people in this country who have felt the lash of the Russian autocracy, Poles and Jews, Finns, Lithuanians, and Russia's own sons who have paid with exile for their dreams of liberty, the wonder is that our so-called pro-Germanism is not stronger than it has shown itself to be. Sympathizers with the Allied cause there are by the hundreds of thousands who are so only because they choose to fix their eyes on France and Belgium and Servia, and not to see Russia, or else to fix their hopes upon the Russia of the future. They need no longer try not to see. The Russia of the future is here.

But it is something more than a spiritual cleansing that has come to the cause of the Allies. The revolution at Petrograd has enormously enriched the issues for which the Allies are contending, to such an extent as almost to make one forget the original objects of the war. Among the nations for whose rights the Allies are now fighting is Russia herself, a people of one hundred and seventy millions, laden with potentialities for the world and civilization beside which Belgium and Servia shrink to relative unimportance. The preservation and extension of the liberties so rapidly won in Russia are now inextricably bound up with the success of the Allies. A German victory now would mean the collapse of free Russia. The men who have worked the revolution have used as their most powerful lever the longing of the nation for victory. Let defeat come, and it means the return of triumphant Czarism to Petrograd, with or without the aid of the Kaiser's troops. That is the startling change in the posture of affairs which the events of a few days have produced. Only last week it was open to millions of men who had no love for Germany to wish her success, in the hope that German victory would mean the collapse of Russian autocracy and an Empire's freedom. To-day those who have thought only of Russia in the world conflict must will it the other way about. If freedom for the Russian people is what they desire, they must pray for the success of the Allies.

And if the moral gain for the Allies is enormous, the practical gain from the standpoint of the present war situation is far from negligible. It is now beyond doubt that Allied action has latterly been affected by fears of a separate peace forced upon the nation by the Russian camarilla. It is now known that Lord Milner's mission to Petrograd was to avert that danger on the one hand, and on the other to bring about a settlement of the internal troubles that were paralyzing Russia's energies. The Western Allies are now relieved of a double anxiety. They can count not only upon Russia's keeping on with the war, but upon Russia's doing her best to win the war. It may be thought that the indifference of the old régime to victory has been exaggerated. After all, it may be argued, Russia has been fighting for thirty-two months and in that time has rendered notable services to the Allied cause. Could an utterly worthless system have accomplished as much as it seemingly has done? To this the answer is that the efforts Russia has made in behalf of the Allies have been the work, not of her Government, but of her people. Were it not for the labor of the new Russia, the Russia of the Duma, the municipalities, and the Zemstvos, utter collapse and surrender would have come long ago. It is not to the credit of the Russian autocracy that the Empire survived the disastrous retreat from Galicia. It was the devotion of the peasant soldiers, who, without muskets and munitions, presented a wall of living flesh to the Teutonic cannon. A disorganized *Soldateska*, the German war critics said two years ago of the retreating Russian armies. Disorganized, yes, and weaponless, yes, but a soldiery that never slackened and finally stopped the German advance with their dead bodies.

From now on the devotion of the Russian peasant-soldier will have behind it the organized intelligence and conscience of the nation, and behind that still the will to victory intensified by the consciousness that on victory depend not only Russia's international aspirations, but her own internal freedom and the lives and fortunes of the men who have taken over the bankrupt assets of Czarism. With the autocracy in the saddle, it is conceivable, nay, it was likely, that a German thrust towards Odessa or Petrograd would have compelled peace. With democratic Russia in power we might see the German armies driving on to the Urals without forcing the nation's submission. The revolution in Russia has given absolute guarantee of the unity of the Allied cause to the end.

# Distant Effects of the Russian Earthquake

HOW will the Russian revolution affect Germany? This is a question which rose to all lips when the news was verified that the Czar of Russia had been forced by the Russian people to abdicate. Such inquiries may be premature; any positive answer to them would certainly be at present. Yet there is something more than the pathetic eagerness of a great hope in the closeness with which all the dispatches relating to German opinion have been read during the last few days. There was a sound political instinct in it. The mighty earthquake on Russian territory could not fail to cause rumblings in distant countries. And the thought was not only that German soil is nearest; the feeling was justified historically that absolutism in Petrograd was closely linked with absolutism in Berlin.

On this subject, Bismarck expressed himself in his recollections with marked force and freedom. His defence of his work for the *Dreikaiserbund* was precisely that a strong dynasty in Russia would be a powerful help to a strong

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dynasty in Germany. And the man who had set his face against German Liberalism, and ruled Prussia in defiance of the Prussian Parliament, made no secret of his reasons for desiring the Imperial alliance. It was

> designed for the struggle which, as I feared, was before us; between the two European tendencies which Napoleon called Republican and Cossack, and which I should designate, on the one side, as the system of order on a monarchical basis, and, on the other, the social republic. . . . If the monarchical Governments have no understanding of the necessity of holding together in the interest of political and social order, . . . I fear that the international, revolutionary, and social struggles which will have to be fought out will be all the more dangerous, and take such a form that the victory on the part of the monarchical order will be more difficult.

Still more explicitly in another passage, Bismarck declared that "the maintenance of monarchical Government in St. Petersburg is for us Germans a problem which coincides with the maintenance of our own state régime."

Now, knowledge of all this has long been in the mind of the German people. That it was also in the thoughts of the German rulers was strikingly made manifest at the first news from Russia. There were hurried conferences. There was the unheralded and amazingly conciliatory speech of the German Chancellor, anticipating, to a certain degree, the popular demand which he instantly foresaw. And we may be sure that the journey of Bethmann-Hollweg to Vienna had less to do with military or financial matters than with the immense stir caused in both Austria and Germany by the Russian upheaval. Few public signs for the answering quiver have yet reached us, but those few are ominous. The German press is almost unanimous in conceding that the taking of their affairs into their own hands by the Russian people means an end to secret German intrigues in Petrograd and a more vigorous prosecution of the war. And the German Social Democrats have gone further. One of them was bold enough to stand up in the Prussian Diet and affirm that the events in Russia were "a warning to the rulers of Germany." And what the Socialist organ, *Vorwärts*, has been writing is equally significant. Such utterances cannot be politically discounted, as they would be in this country, by the fact that they come from Socialists. In Germany, the Social Democratic party has for years been the chief organ of political protest, and in the last election cast a vote—above 4,000,000—larger than that of any other party.

It would be foolish to predict an early revolution in Berlin, in consequence of what has happened in Petrograd, or because of any other developments in the war which are likely immediately to occur. The Hohenzollern are perhaps no better liked in Germany than were the Romanoffs in Russia. But their record has been different. They have somehow stood for German unity and prestige. And there is no doubt that in this war they have had the German people in strong union behind them. But this has been on the plea of necessity and with the promise of success. Should defeat, or even intensified misery and hopelessness, supervene, the position of the Hohenzollern would be very precarious. It would have been so, under the conditions mentioned, even if the Czar had not lost his throne. With that event both an example and an incitement, we might soon have a public document from Berlin speaking, in echo of the Russian proclamation, of "the sovereign will of the German people." This is not a thing that can be imposed from without, as some have vainly imagined. It must be, if it comes in Germany as it has come in Russia, the spontaneous work of a self-directing people.

Americans can only wonder and wait. But while they are watching for the final result to emerge, they may well be glad that the rising of the Russian people to assume their rights strikes fear into the heart of no citizen or ruler in this country. We are buttressed against revolution not by autocratic power, but by freedom. And Americans cannot be denied an honest satisfaction in the thought that the vast political changes in the world—those already wrought and those to come—are changes in the direction of the self-government which they have enjoyed from the beginning of this nation. With a special and solemn joy they may read again, in the light of the world-shaking revolution in Russia, the words of their own philosopher-democrat, Ralph Waldo Emerson:

> God said, I am tired of kings,
> I suffer them no more;
> Up to my ear the morning brings
> The outrage of the poor.

# The Shortage of Food in Europe

THE common supposition as to the present shortage of food supplies in Western Europe is that it is due, first, to unusually deficient harvests in 1916, and secondly, to the increased destruction of cargoes by German submarines. But the causes of the existing situation really stretch much further back.

Very few great wars, if at all prolonged, and especially if conducted on the sea, have escaped exactly this consequence. Belligerent countries which rely on imported wheat are cut off absolutely from some of their usual sources of supply. Their own harvests are apt to be reduced by enlistment of agricultural laborers in the armies, and ocean cargoes may be destroyed or confiscated. Shortage of foodstuffs, particularly wheat, became extremely severe in England during the long Napoleonic wars. The period of 1807 and 1808 was described by Tooke in his "History of Prices" as a period both of "scanty crops" and of "increasing, and in the last of those years insurmountable difficulty of obtaining a foreign supply." The very real famine of 1812, when wheat in England went above $4 per bushel and applications for poor relief increased at an alarming rate, was the climax of the distresses of that day.

Means of ocean communication are vastly better now, even in the face of war, than they were a century ago. Yet the probability of short supplies must always be reckoned with—a fact which the grain markets recognize by the invariable sharp advance of prices when any war begins. Furthermore, as to the present war, the more striking part of the problem of the food supply sometimes seems to be, not the fact that a shortage has now occurred, but the fact that it was so long deferred by a freak of nature. It would have come in 1915, when the previous season's harvests, outside the United States, were actually very deficient, but for the fact that our own wheat production of 1914 was larger by 128,000,000 bushels, or nearly 17 per cent., than in any former year. It was wholly averted, so far as concerned last year, by a further increase of 135,000,000 bushels in this country's output in the autumn of 1915. These were, however, abnormal harvests, owing to exceptionally favorable weather conditions. In the natural vicissitudes

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of the production of grain, such conditions could not last indefinitely; they ended very suddenly last year.

Undoubtedly, the salient influence on the world's available supplies was the decrease of 386,000,000 bushels in our own wheat harvest of 1916, as compared with the year before. This decrease, coming at a moment of so great a foreign demand, had the result, reflected in the recent "farm-reserve" estimate, of leaving in our farmers' hands March 1 the smallest surplus of wheat in twenty years. That statement indicated, even if the storehouse supply is included, that requirements for home consumption, seeding, and a very ordinary export, between now and July, would leave the country virtually bare of wheat reserves before the next harvest.

But the American crop was not the only factor in the shortage. The actual decrease from 1915, in the yield of all producing States combined, is estimated in the grain trade as 939,000,000 bushels, or nearly 21 per cent. This comparison, taken by itself, might be misleading, because the world's yield of wheat in 1915 was altogether phenomenal; some estimates made it 500,000,000 bushels greater than the world had ever raised before. Even last season's world-harvest was fully up to that of any year prior to 1912, and ran well beyond most of them. But in the above estimates for the world's wheat crop of the war years, Russia's production is included; and that has been all along cut off from the export market.

Russia stands first or second on the list for the amount of wheat produced, and even in 1915 deduction of her crop from the world's total yield would have brought down the aggregate to ordinary proportions. If the 767,000,000 bushels harvest of European Russia (a very rough estimate, however) is similarly deducted from the total of last season, the remainder of the world's crop of 1916 would be brought to a figure a thousand million bushels below even the total world's crop of 1912. What would be left would represent much the smallest total, available for importing states, of any year since the beginning of the present century.

The decrease in the wheat harvest of 1916 was unfortunately distributed, from the standpoint of Western Europe. With Russia eliminated, the main source of grain supplies for those importing states were Canada, India, Argentina, and the United States. Except for 1914, when the crop was largely a failure, Canada's wheat harvest of last year was the smallest in seven years; in Argentina it was the smallest for a decade; in India, the smallest in half a dozen years; in the United States, the smallest with one exception since 1904. As for Western Europe itself, French production decreased heavily at the very beginning of the war—a result of diverted labor and occupied provinces. Last year it harvested 50,000,000 bushels less even than in 1915, the crop being actually the smallest since 1879.

These are the sufficiently convincing facts as to the reality of the shortage, even without the submarines. It is being met, as such a situation must be met, by strict limitation of European consumption of grain and by substitution of other foods. The second process forces up prices for all necessaries; the first must undoubtedly cause hardship. This is the nature of the present situation. It can hardly grow better until the harvests of 1917 are in, and much will depend on their abundance. A possibility of relief would be the renewal of access to Russia's blockaded Black Sea ports. That is certainly not yet in sight.

# The Tariff Commission

PRESIDENT WILSON waited six months after the passage of the law creating a Tariff Commission before appointing its members. The delay has been borne with calmness, but it was the calm before a storm. Republicans are already violently attacking the President's selections for the Commission. This is partly for partisan reasons. The statute provides that "not more than three" of the six members of the Commission "shall be members of the same political party." The three Democrats are easily recognized, but where are the Republicans? Not one of the straightest sect figures in the list. The non-Democrats are men who merely were once Republicans, or were Progressive Republicans, and who are all violently suspected of having voted for Wilson. But in such a breaking up of the partisan deep as we have been going through during the past five years, it is really impossible to stick perfectly descriptive party labels on a man's back. Despite Republican grumblings, there is little doubt that the President's nominations to the Tariff Commission are sufficiently bi-partisan to come within the act. To make sure of what they want, the Republicans should have made the law provide for one Standpatter, one Stalwart, and one Bourbon.

In addition to the outcry on party grounds, there is bitter complaint that the men selected by Mr. Wilson are nearly all "free-traders." After that, it is scarcely necessary to say that they are an ignorant set, having no "practical" acquaintance with the drafting of a tariff bill. From such a body of men, the protectionists angrily ask, how can it be expected that a recommendation of high duties will ever come—those high duties which the protectionists have already demonstrated to their own satisfaction to be absolutely necessary? Well, that is precisely one of the questions for which the Commission is to make an exhaustive and scientific study of schedules and rates. In such a work the distinction between free-traders and high-tariff men can hardly be clung to in a rigid way. The task set the Commission is not to frame an entire tariff bill, according to a theory of either free trade or protection, but painstakingly to inquire into details, to find out how a given provision works, to ascertain whether changes in any given manufacture, or in world-supplies, or in the fiscal policies of other countries, require a modification of this schedule or of that. In such a labor the main requisite is that a man be honest and have an open mind and be able to know what facts mean after he has got them together. In the case of Professor Taussig, for example, on whose acceptance of the Chairmanship of the Commission the country is to be congratulated, it is inconceivable that any doctrinaire bias should affect his official work. To get such a trained mind at work is half the battle. The conclusions at which a real student arrives by scientific methods must necessarily be more valuable than the hasty guesses of Congressmen or the interested statements of tariff beneficiaries.

Even those who disliked the idea of a Tariff Commission, when it was first put forward, must admit that altered circumstances—and also amended plans—make the matter appear in a different light to-day. The original scheme was to "take the tariff out of politics." This meant, at the time, to prevent anything like radical changes in a protective tariff. But when abuses are grafted upon the

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law by politics, they can't be kept out of politics until they are done away with, or put in the way of ultimate removal. Moreover, all the early arguments for a Tariff Commission implied that it would simply furnish an arsenal of weapons for a preconceived theory—in that instance, the protective theory. But the actual Commission is contemplated as a body of impartial investigators. And in view of the great changes in economic policy and fiscal laws which seem to be impending all over the world—in South America as well as in Europe—the usefulness of the Commission may be far greater than was foreseen at the beginning. Certainly, if Congress is to do any tariff legislating at all, it will be in a position to do it much more intelligently with the aid of the sifted information and skilled advice which Professor Taussig and his colleagues on the Commission will be able to provide.

# The House of Hohenzollern

IN all discussions of the fate of Germany in case of her ultimate defeat, the question of the attachment of the people to the Hohenzollern dynasty plays an important part. That Prussian loyalty will be equal to almost any test admits scarcely of doubt, but the question naturally suggests itself, Will other subjects of the Empire, notably South Germans, remain unshaken in their devotion to a dynasty that is responsible, as all Germans must eventually recognize, for the most disastrous war in history? It is difficult to make predictions at the present time, with the fortunes of war still trembling in the balance. One may safely say, however, that from the establishment of the present Empire to the outbreak of the war, every non-Prussian has been, first of all, a Saxon, Bavarian, Württemberger, etc., and only secondarily a German. We have on this point the highly instructive corroboration of so excellent an authority as Prince Bismarck. He says, in the thirteenth chapter of his "Recollections":

> Never, not even at Frankfort, did I doubt that the key to German politics was to be found in princes and dynasties, not in publicists, whether in parliament and the press or on the barricades. . . .
>
> In order that German patriotism be active and effective, it needs dependence on a dynasty. Independent of dynasty, patriotism, as a practical matter, rarely reaches its full height. . . . It is as a Prussian, a Hanoverian, a Württemberger, a Bavarian, or Hessian, rather than as a German, that he is disposed to give unequivocal proof of patriotism. The German love of the Fatherland has need of a prince on whom it can concentrate its attachment. Suppose that all the German dynasties were suddenly deposed; there would then be no likelihood that the German national sentiment would suffice to hold all Germans together, from the point of view of international law, amid the friction of European politics, even in the form of federated Hanse towns and imperial rural communes ("Reichsdörfer"). The Germans would fall a prey to nations more closely welded together if they once lost the tie which rests in the sense of the common importance of their princes.

Bismarck was never under any illusions as to the feeling of non-Prussian Germans towards the Hohenzollern dynasty. After the war of 1866 he labored hard to convince King William that it would be a serious mistake to punish Bavaria by forcing her to give up Anspach and Bayreuth to Prussia, just as it would be to compel Austria to give up part of her possessions. "I gauged," he wrote, "the proposed acquisitions from Austria and Bavaria by asking myself whether the inhabitants, in case of future war, would remain faithful to the King of Prussia after the withdrawal of the Prussian officials and troops and continue to accept commands from him; and I had not the impression that the population of these districts, which had become habituated to Bavarian and Austrian conditions, would be disposed to meet Hohenzollern predilections."

All this is well known. South-German dislike of Prussian ways is as old as the history of the Electors of Brandenburg and as recent as the present war, with its acknowledged friction between Prussian and non-Prussian commanders of the Central armies. The Hohenzollern have ever ruled with a heavy hand, in peace as in war, and they do not go out of their way to enlist the sympathies of non-Prussians. Nor is it in politics and in warfare only that the antagonism between the Prussians and the people of other parts of Germany has found expression. German literature gives abundant proof that the Hohenzollern dynasty and the liberal sentiment of Germany have ever been far apart. None of the rulers of the house of Hohenzollern befriended German poets, with the single exception of the ill-starred Frederick III (while still Crown Prince), unless their verses glorified Prussian deeds. The greatest of Prussian rulers ignored contemptuously the greatest of German poets, and Lessing and Heine had as little cause to look kindly upon Berlin as Goethe. Goethe visited the Prussian capital with Karl August of Weimar in May, 1778, and his impressions of Berlin life and of the surroundings of the King were far from favorable. "I have got quite close to old Fritz," he wrote, "having seen his gold, his silver, his statues, his apes, his parrots, and heard his own curs twaddle about the great man." The King and the poet had nothing in common. Frederick's judgment of Goethe's "Götz von Berlichingen" was as follows: "Voilà un Goetz de Berlichingen qui parait sur la scène, imitation détestable de ces mauvaises pièces anglaises, et le parterre applaudit et demande avec enthousiasme la répétition de ces dégoûtantes platitudes." Frederick the Great cared only for French *savants;* he made one President of the Academy of Sciences, another Librarian. Goethe was not at all in sympathy with Frederick's plan of putting the federation of German sovereigns on a strong military basis. He feared not so much Prussia as the Prussian King, who had no consideration for small states like Saxe-Weimar. In the summer of 1780 he spoke, in the Aristophanic little play "Die Vögel," of "the Black Eagle with his ever-ready claws."

Under Frederick's successors the state of affairs in Prussia was even less to Goethe's liking. Frederick William II discouraged the development of science and free speech by every means in his power. Kant barely escaped being deprived of his professorship. Frederick William III and his Queen ostentatiously ignored Goethe on their visits to Weimar.

Schiller did not fare so ill in his relations with the Hohenzollern, but he was not spared by the Berlin bureaucracy. In the last year of his life he wished for a wider sphere of activity than was afforded him in Weimar and Jena. He visited Berlin in May, 1804, and Queen Luise was seemingly anxious to have him settle there. On his

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return to Weimar he wrote to the royal Cabinet Counsellor Beyme that, while he found himself unable to leave Weimar permanently, he should be willing, under certain conditions, to spend a few months every year in Berlin, but no answer to his letter was vouchsafed him.

Lessing had at various times gone to Berlin in the hope of finding there some suitable position. At one time, in 1765, he seemed to have some prospect of getting the royal librarianship. He was proposed to the King by one of his French favorites, Colonel Guichard, but Frederick, who had become prejudiced against Lessing through Voltaire's version of a previous quarrel between the two, refused to consider the suggestion. The position was offered to Winckelmann, but he declined it on account of the low salary, and Lessing's name was once more brought forward by Guichard. Frederick thereupon declared with vehemence that a Frenchman would get the place, and so a Frenchman did. Lessing felt the disappointment keenly. He wrote to his father later on: "I left Berlin after the only thing that I had so long hoped for and that had been long held out to me was denied me." It is safe to say, however, that Frederick would never have found in Lessing a pliant employee, such as he liked to have near him. Lessing had previously, in 1764, declined the offer of a professorship of rhetoric in the University of Königsberg because of the condition that he was to deliver annually a eulogy of the King.

It is interesting to contrast with these experiences of Lessing in Prussia the attitude of the Austrian authorities towards contemporaneous men of letters. Lessing wrote to Nicolai: "Let some one dare to write in Berlin as freely as Sonnenfels is writing in Vienna." As early as 1711 Emperor Charles VI had made Leibnitz an Aulic Councillor and a baron of the Empire, and when the philosopher came to Vienna in 1713 and submitted to the Emperor a draft of the Peace of Utrecht, he received an annual pension of 2,000 florins, which Charles offered to double if Leibnitz agreed to settle in the Austrian capital.

The list of literary men who suffered from Prussian reactionism is a long one. Börne, Herwegh, and Hoffmann von Fallersleben, among others, showed that there was mutual dislike, but no one embodied his hatred of Prussia in such flaming words as Heine; witness his preface to his "Französische Zustände." After speaking of Metternich's cynical but open defiance of liberalism and the mulish consistency of the Emperor Francis, he proceeded:

> As regards Prussia we may speak in a different tone. Here at least we are not restrained by respect for the sacredness of the head of the German Empire. The learned minions on the banks of the Spree may dream of a great Emperor of the house of Borussia and proclaim Prussian hegemony, with all its glorious lordliness, but thus far the long fingers of the Hohenzollern have not yet succeeded in grasping the crown of Charlemagne and in dumping it into the same bag with so many Polish and Saxon jewels. . . .
>
> It is true that recently many friends of the Fatherland have desired the enlargement of Prussia and hoped to see in the kings the masters of a united Germany. They have held out a bait to patriots and talked of Prussian liberalism, and the friends of liberty have begun to look confidingly towards the Linden of Berlin, but as for me, I have never shared their confidence. On the contrary, I watched with anxiety the Prussian eagle, and while others spoke with so much warmth of how this bold eagle turned his eye toward the sun, I watched all the more carefully his claws. I did not trust this Prussian, this tall and canting white-gaitered hero, with his wide mouth and his rapacious stomach and his corporal's stick, which he first dipped in holy water before laying it on. I disliked this philosophic military despotism, this mixture of small beer, lies, and sand. Repulsive beyond expression was to me this Prussia, this stiff, hypocritical Prussia, this Tartuffe among the nations.

Heine allowed himself in his verse to go even further in denouncing Prussia and the house of Hohenzollern, but though as a poet and as a wit he abused his double license, he but overemphasized the grievances of liberal Germany. There is perhaps in all literature no similar instance of a dynasty incurring such fierce hatred on the part of one of the greatest writers of the nation.

Whatever concessions any ruler of the house of Hohenzollern, since the days of Frederick the Great, made to liberal ideas were wrung from him by bitter political necessity. The humiliating peace of Tilsit forced Frederick William III to adopt the reform plans of Stein and Hardenberg, but the stifling period of reaction that followed the War of Liberation, in the latter reign of the King and that of his successors, Frederick William IV and the Prince Regent (afterwards William I), was unrelieved, down to the Revolution of 1848, by any breath of freedom. Prussia was ready for Bismarck. From the outset there was no thought in his mind of making Prussia great in order to make her free. He sounded the keynote of his future policy in a speech in the Prussian Diet on December 3, 1850, when he said: "According to my conviction, Prussian honor does not consist in Prussia's playing the Don Quixote all over Germany for the benefit of mortified parliamentary celebrities, who consider their local constitution in danger. I look for Prussian honor in Prussia's abstinence before all things from every shameful union with democracy." Bismarck's ideal was a great Prussia and only incidentally a great Germany; a liberal Prussia or a liberal Germany was never a part of his programme. In 1863, shortly after his accession to the Prussian Ministry of State, he wrote to Count von der Goltz, his successor as Ambassador to France: "The pursuit of the phantom of popularity in Germany, which we have been carrying on for the last forty years, has cost us our position in Germany and in Europe, and we shall not win it back by allowing ourselves to be carried away by the stream, persuaded that we are directing its course, but only by standing firmly upon our legs, and being first of all a Great Power and a German Federal State afterwards."

Bismarck remained true to this policy throughout his rule, yet when all its fruits had been garnered in, and he was surveying the past from his retreats at Friedrichsruh and Varzin, a gnawing doubt as to the permanency of the structure he had erected overcame him. "History shows," he wrote, "that in Germany it is the Prussian stock whose individual character is most strongly marked, and yet no one could decisively answer the question whether, supposing the Hohenzollern dynasty and all its rightful successors to have passed away, the political cohesion of Prussia would survive. Is it quite certain that the eastern and western divisions, that the Pomeranians and Hanoverians, the natives of Holstein and Silesia, of Aachen and Königsberg, would then continue as they now are, armed together in the indissoluble unity of the Prussian state?"

Many a German student of history who ponders at the present time the doubt as to the stability of the Hohenzollern dynasty expressed by Bismarck will recall the voice of a far-sighted German, the historian Gervinus, who, when the unification of Germany was an accomplished fact, wrote an open letter to the Prussian King, "An das Preussische

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Königshaus" (published posthumously in 1872), in which he impressively argued that the annexation of German lands by Prussia after the war of 1866 had disgraced the house of Hohenzollern, and that it carried the seeds of future evil with it. All the glories of the war of 1870 did not blind Gervinus to the dangers threatening a Germnay founded on militarism and not on justice and fair dealing. He foresaw with dread the creation of a military state such as the world had not seen even when Napoleon was at the height of his power. "We have," he wrote, "as regards power taken the place of France, but we shall draw upon ourselves all the hatred that France incurred." The following words have acquired an added impressiveness through the events of the past two years: "Is it not a fact that, at the time of the Luxemburg complications when the secret treaties of alliance between Prussia and the South German states were made public, the anger and suspicion of all Governments were aroused when it was shown that one day before the Peace of Prague a principal article of the Treaty had been violated? Can we ignore the fact that the new doctrine, 'Might before right,' surrounded as it is by all the halo of a brilliant statesmanship, has greatly undermined the hitherto prevailing principle of non-intervention among English statesmen of the old type?"

Developments within the German Empire since 1871 have justified the apprehensions of those who, like Gervinus, saw in the overshadowing importance of Prussia an ominous menace to the smaller German states. Their privileges as component parts of the German Empire have become a mere mockery under a Constitution which vests the Imperial succession in the house of Hohenzollern, with its hereditary right in the Presidency of the Federation, the casting vote of Prussia in case of a tie in the Federal Council, a permanent Prussian majority in the Reichstag, and the prerogative of the King of Prussia as German Emperor in calling, adjourning, and proroguing the Reichstag. Parliamentary government in the real sense of the word has become impossible under a system which leaves the Imperial Ministers independent of the will of the Reichstag and relegates the Chancellors of the Empire to the position of mere tools of a Hohenzollern King. A further expansion of Prussia could only take place with a corresponding loss of prestige on the part of the smaller states. What, these states must have asked themselves more than once since the outbreak of the war, will be our gain if Prussian generalship triumphs? It is not too early to raise the question as to what will be their portion if Prussian supremacy ends in military disaster.

In any case, the day cannot be far distant when the intrinsic rights of Prussia to the part within the Empire she has arrogated to herself will be seriously questioned by descendants of those German stocks which contributed so largely to the power of the old Germanic Empire during the thousand years of its existence. Franconians, Saxons, Luxemburgs, Hohenstaufen, as well as Hapsburgs, furnished the great rulers of the Holy Roman Empire long before a Hohenzollern was dreamed of as a possible Emperor. In these days of dynastic upheavals in other countries the experience of Germany as an hereditary monarchy within less than fifty years cannot be thrown into the scales as against the history of an elective Empire of a thousand years.

Prussia's supremacy as the German Kulturstaat *par excellence* has been too long assumed by militarists and Junkers, and too easily acquiesced in by the rest of Germany. Even in a purely military sense, Prussia, according to Bismarck himself, has long ceased to be as productive of great talents as was the case in the time of Frederick the Great. "Our most successful commanders," he wrote in his Memoirs, "Blücher, Gneisenau, Moltke, Goeben, were not Prussians originally, nor, in the civil administration, were Stein, Hardenberg, Motz, and Grolman." The list of great Germans in other fields who were not Prussians by birth is endless. The names of Leibnitz, Liebig, Bopp, Grimm, Hegel, Gauss, Ehrenberg, Bach, Wagner, of Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, and many others of similar eminence, leap to the mind at once. And Dürer and Holbein, the South Germans, marked the climax of all German art long before the Mark Brandenburg had become the Kingdom of Prussia.

Bismarck's doctrines and Hohenzollern principles are now being tried in the furnace of a world war. Not all that can be said, and must justly be said, of Prussian leadership in the intellectual and material development of Germany can obscure the patent failure of the Hohenzollern dynasty. Prussian hegemony may have fed the German mind and body, but it has starved the German soul.

GUSTAV POLLAK

# Navigare Necesse Est

ALL Holland is on skates. A fortnight's severe frost has lamed all traffic by water, and on its surface pleasure reigns supreme. In the province of Friesland, of old the classical land of skates, the eleven towns' circuit in one day's excursion is the great achievement to which each true-born Frisian aspires. From Amsterdam the run goes north, into the watery district of the "polders," or across the Gouwzee to the Isle of Marken. Even a motorcyclist has ventured to follow the skater's track, and, being the first specimen of his kind to visit this picturesque scene of quaint costumes and toy-like houses, was welcomed with some ceremony by the burgomaster of the island. The school children get a free afternoon twice a week to practice the art and swarm on the ice with unsteady feet and rosy cheeks, balancing themselves with outstretched arms that row through the air. All the canals and ditches that, far and wide, intersect the flat country, are alive with the excitement of the winter sport. And the healthy glow which frost and exercise kindle in each tingling vein creates a general feeling of bonhomie and brotherhood. The ice in Holland is the great leveller of class distinctions, the only successful preacher of the gospel of true democracy.

A traveller—but who travels nowadays?—who saw this national revel brighten the monotony of the frost-white landscape in all parts of the country might infer from the festive scene before his eyes that Holland fared well by the war. But the ice, while provoking this merriment, itself applies the soothing remedy to the sore it has made. There is a general dearth of foodstuffs and fuel, and the equal distribution of such stocks as are still available is severely hampered by the stoppage of all traffic by water, which in this country is the usual and cheapest means of conveyance. The railways cannot supply the shortage of means of transport, as the growing scarcity of coal does not permit the companies to run any extra trains. At The Hague no anthracite is to be had for whatever price one offers, and on the last day of January the last potato seems to have

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been consumed in Queen Wilhelmina's residential city. Tomorrow the bread-ticket system, in the German style, is to have its first day of trial, and the Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, who is responsible for the national food supply, not satisfied with limiting every eater to a daily bread diet, is said to contemplate prescribing one breadless day a week. And meanwhile the German Government informs the Government at The Hague of its Christian intention to wage a remorseless submarine warfare, and announces, less officially, through the Wolff Bureau, "that in Berlin the expectation prevails that the Dutch people, on quiet consideration, will arrive at the conclusion that a speedy end to the war, to be brought on by a regardless submarine policy, is preferable to the present state of affairs, even if, by it, some fresh difficulties should arise in the near future." In other words: "In regard for your welfare, which requires a speedy end of the war, we shall without regard torpedo your merchant fleet." To give us a foretaste of this regardless regard made in Germany, three Dutch ships were sunk last week, the Zeta, the Epsilon, and the Gamma, all three carrying cargo consigned either to the Netherland Government or to the Netherland Oversea Trust Company, one laden with wheat, the second with maize, and the third with linseed cakes. That means a loss to Dutch shipping of 8,379 tons and of large supplies of necessary foodstuffs. But what safety can one expect for the Gamma, the Epsilon, and the Zeta, seeing that Germany has sworn to send the Alpha and Omega of International Law and humanity to the bottom of the sea?

"Navigare necesse est, vivere non necesse est." The sailor who, in these days of open sea murder, remains true to that principle has a right to the world's gratitude and admiration for his heroism. In the morning of February 3, the steamship Rijndbroom, of the Holland Steamboat Company, left the port of Ymuiden, regardless of German threats. That ought to be the answer of all neutral shipping to the Prussian champions of *Mare Liberum*. But, though fearlessness is the best reply to frightfulness, even the best reply will not suffice; it will have to be silenced, and silenced forever. A joint action, however, of the neutral European states seems illusory, however effective it might promise to be. Sweden has, indeed, called a conference of neutrals at Stockholm, but, as the Netherland Minister of Foreign Affairs has informed the Second Chamber, the discussions will be limited to economic questions of mutual interest. The Scandinavian states, Holland, and Spain would, together, constitute a formidable power, but Germany reckons, and apparently not without ground, that she has nothing to fear from such an alliance against her attempt on the freedom of the seas. The hope of neutral Europe is fixed on the United States. If the great democracy of the New World were to stand by the cause of European freedom against despotism, frightfulness would soon be tamed. When the Dutch Republic, under Stadtholder William III, was the chief protagonist of Protestantism and liberty against the Roman Catholic Imperialism of Louis XIV, it found in England an ally. Civilization moves from east to west, and history, on its westward progress, continually extends the plan of its scene of action. A task too great now for the state which was once the Dutch Republic is taken over by England in our days. And the England of King William III seems the seventeenth-century prototype of the modern American Union. It would be a gain to the world at large, as England's interference in King William's time was a gain to Europe, were America to lay her mighty sword in the scale of justice. Her intercession would consolidate the powers that are for right and humanity and peace and create a firmer brotherhood between the two great continents that are the trustees of the civilization of the future.

A. J. BARNOUW

*The Hague, February 4*

# Spanish Neutrality

NEUTRALITY provokes as wide a range of interpretations as most other political institutions in Spain. The many who have amiably explained to me their conception of neutrality expounded as many different theories. But in their conclusion all were agreed, and this Count Romanones, the Premier, summed up for me in a line: "I do not think there is a single Spaniard who wants war." His predecessor, Señor Dato, similarly defined his policy: "The only device on our armor now is, 'Live in peace.'"

"Public opinion," observed the editor of a prominent Madrid paper to me, "does not exist in Spain. We make all of our plans without counting upon it." This is explained by the absence of a bourgeoisie and the fact that the proletariat is so little advanced. The minimum required of a constitutional Government in this conventional sense is to decide something and then tell the people about it. In Spain the Government decides, but need not bother particularly about consulting the people. The peasantry, indeed, look upon political activities much as they do upon church functions, but with less respect. In both cases they either follow or avoid them, but in neither would they for a moment think of disputing the form of the ritual. Their neutrality in the war could hardly be anything but negative—an indifference to the peoples and an ignorance of the principles involved. In our own West the same attitude on a somewhat higher scale is called "polite interest." Neutrality in form may exist anywhere, but neutrality in spirit only in peoples completely detached from the interests at issue.

"Neutrality in Spain," to quote one observer, "is the common denominator between the indifference of the masses and the violent conflicting opinions of the minority." In a political gathering held in a theatre of Madrid some months ago leaders of three different parties, Liberal, Jaimist, and Conservative, each gave the views of his party on what the attitude of the Government should be towards the belligerents. One advocated a benevolent attitude towards France; the Jaimist ardently defended the cause of the Kaiser; but all met on the common ground of neutrality. Only Lerroux, the Radical Deputy from Barcelona, has actively preached intervention. He invited the Government to turn its fleet over to the Allies and open its ports to them: "Let us take sides in all frankness and without reserve with France and Great Britain, the only alliance which will guarantee our independence in the future. All else aside, the compensations which would follow our intervention would add immensely to our prosperity."

It is not without significance that the majority of conservative opinion favors Germany in the war, while liberal sympathies turn unmistakably to France and England. There are a few Liberals, however, who, fascinated by German industrial energy and enjoying the credit facilities offered by the Madrid branch of the Deutsche Bank, believe that German coöperation and German methods would work

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an admirable transformation in Spain. This explains the pro-German bias of certain popular newspapers which appreciate German advertising commissions, but at the same time find that their subscribers have a greater interest in, though they know less of, what goes on in Germany than in other countries. I have noticed also that preponderance is given in many periodicals, whatever their sympathies, to German problems. In *Nuestro Tiempo*, for example, the proportion is four to one. Of the forty per cent. of Spaniards who are literate, a great part depend exclusively upon their newspapers for their reading. While this has facilitated German propaganda, it has also simplified propaganda by the Allies, who control the more important press agencies.

Opinion favorable to the Allies is more general, and hence more difficult to define. Those of Republican tendencies have instinctively turned to France for inspiration. The successive Ministries since the war have each recognized the closer economic ties binding Spain to the Allies and have been rather pro-Ally. Curiously enough, Señor Maurra, long leader of the Conservative Clerical group, has taken issue with the majority of his party and declared his sympathy for France. I was surprised to find that in intellectual circles there were many who showed sympathy for France, but who looked upon British Imperialism much as do the German people.

On the other hand, there are those who dream of a Spanish renaissance, of a pan-Iberianism, a worthy companion to pan-Germanism and pan-Slavism. These are largely Carlists, who look forward to the day when Don Jaime will return to Spain and claim his own. For them Gibraltar is still only "temporarily occupied" (to use the official reference to it), and they cannot forget the raiding armies of Napoleon. The present for them is merely an interim between the unhappy past and a dim future. To quote one of them: "What concerns me is that Portugal did not remain a workshop of England. I look for the day when the same flag will float from Barcelona to Lisbon; when we shall be a united population of thirty millions, and with an army of a million and a half, which would soon raise Spain from the false position in which she now lives." They quote Treitschke and compare the state to a living organism which must either grow or decay.

The clergy favor Germany for the rather negative reason of absolute incapacity to tolerate France, land of Voltaire, of agnosticism, and of religious persecution. They have never forgiven the Italian Government for having dared put foot within the Holy City. This prejudice finds a counterpart in the ideas suggested to the people, who see in Poincaré and Victor Emmanuel two arch-heretics plotting together for the confusion of the Church. The Order of Jesus, influenced by its extensive affiliations in Austria and Germany, has had no small share in fixing this opinion. I have frequently noticed in Switzerland and in other neutral countries that Clerical influence tends to favor the Central States, and I mentioned this impression recently to the Abbé Dimnet, the well-known French critic, who sadly admitted that this was the most difficult propaganda to meet.

The curious revival of Catalanism in opposition to the Castilian Government, so long the ruling power in Spain, has grown rapidly these last two decades. At moments of tension the Catalans have looked for support from France much as some of the Irish Nationalists were ready to accept aid from Germnay—the only difference being that France has given them no encouragement. The Catalans, though a minority, represent the greater part of the wealth of Spain. But they have little national feeling and threaten, unless the Government recognizes their regional claims, to appeal elsewhere. Many Catalans enrolled in the Foreign Legion, and there has even been a Catalan declaration of sympathy for France. They are, however, primarily interested in their own autonomy and declare that, should France not heed their appeal (and there is no likelihood that she ever will), they will turn to Germany or some other sympathetic Power. It is easy to ridicule such declarations, but the war has shown to what disastrous results misdirected nationalism may lead. The significance of Catalanism in Spain is increased by the wealth of the leaders and the superior energy and progesssiveness of the people.

Appeals to Latin solidarity in Spain meet very faint response. To quote Ruiz de Grijalba: "In 1898 the United States committed against Spain the most unjust and cruel act of force and despotism that history records. But no one came to help us because we were neighbors or because we were Latins. To-day no appeal of race should draw us in." Pamphlets are numerous refuting the racial argument and emphasizing its contradictions by the alliances of this war. "Fa da se" receives a peculiarly determined interpretation in Spain.

Foreign propaganda flourishes. Spain, neighboring France, but offering hospitality to a colony of more than forty thousand Germans, many of them from Italy and the African colonies, has been the centre of all kinds of intrigue. The facilities for propaganda have been increased by the responsiveness of many newspapers to foreign inspiration in concrete form. Except for one or two conservative, semi-official sheets, all of them have become known as pro-German or pro-Ally. Their sympathies are not, however, particularly profound, as in the case of one paper which was pro-French until purchased by German interests, when it became Germanophile in a night, keeping, I understand, the same staff of editors and correspondents.

It is so easy to generalize about little-known countries that one habitually refers to "Catholic Spain" or, more harshly, "Reactionary Spain." When the French Academicians made their official visit they were received and dined by a group of enthusiastic admirers at the Ritz. In response to the toast of welcome one of the Academicians made an eloquent address full of allusions to the France of Jeanne d'Arc, to Rheims, and to the glorious Catholic history the two countries had shared together for so many centuries. He failed to notice the uneasiness of his listeners and only learned some time after that the dinner had been given by liberal republicans, whose admiration for France was exactly because of her emancipation from the influences the Academician had just been describing. This tendency to generalize has been the weakness of French propaganda in Spain as in Switzerland. Then, too, there is a natural pride —"let the facts speak for themselves." The editor of one of the largest Madrid papers called my attention to this attitude of aloofness and silence, when often a word of explanation would have dissipated a false rumor.

But the Spanish do not take any war propaganda very seriously, and none of it could induce them to active participation in the war. The people feel the need of a long period of peace to achieve their own regeneration. They look upon their neutrality as a courtesy to the belligerents. Count Romanones said to me recently: "Neutrality is a good thing

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even for the belligerents. It limits a war and brings nearer a peace which must come whether it be this year or ten years distant." SANFORD GRIFFITH

*San Sebastian, February 4*

# Correspondence

## THE GERMANS OF PENNSYLVANIA

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your last issue is printed a letter signed Raymond Weeks which reproduces a criticism made by Benjamin Franklin upon the "ignorance" of German colonists of Pennsylvania. Persons acquainted with Pennsylvania history know that Franklin was antagonistic to the Germans and Quakers of Pennsylvania, and that he was especially jealous of his successful business rival, Christopher Sower, the enterprising publisher of Germantown.

That Mr. Weeks should have brought this to the attention of your readers at this time indicates his thought that perhaps his little mud pellet might count in the general fusillade. For a fairer estimate of the German colonists of Pennsylvania permit me to invite the attention of your readers to the late Governor Pennypacker's last book, "Pennsylvania, The Keystone, a Short History."

JAMES S. PENNYPACKER

*Philadelphia, March 3*

## THE CONSCIENTIOUS SCRUPLES OF COLLEGE FRATERNITIES

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Within the past fortnight the largest and most democratic organization, numbering into the hundreds, at one of the most important of the Middle Western universities, declined to send an ambulance to the American Ambulance Corps in France, on the ground that it would be showing discrimination against the other countries engaged in the war.

Within a week the fraternities of this same large institution declined to join in helping the cause of Belgian relief, on the ground that the money of their members came from their parents, and therefore should not be spent in charity, or upon causes not directly connected with their own education. Just previous to this decision one of these same fraternities had taxed its members twenty-two dollars per capita for a dance, and similar though lesser sums have been paid and are being paid constantly for such entertainments.

It would be interesting to hear from other universities and colleges in the Middle West on this subject, and encouraging if the news should be more sane, generous, and patriotic and more creditable generally to youth. X.

*Bloomington, Ind., February 5*

## CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS IN LOUISIANA

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: An article by Mr. Royal J. Davis appearing in the *Nation* of February 1 and entitled "The Vote on Measures in the Election of 1916" contains the statement that "Louisiana, which voted upon seventeen constitutional amendments in 1914," was "absent from the ranks" of the States voting for constitutional amendments in 1916. This is an egregious error. Louisiana voted on no fewer than eighteen constitutional amendments at the November election, and only one amendment was rejected. Consequently, the example of this State, which Mr. Davis cites in proof of his thesis, furnishes material for the other side of the argument. The total number of amendments voted upon in 1916 is given by Mr. Davis as 111. This is also incorrect, inasmuch as he has overlooked the eighteen amendments submitted to the voters of Louisiana.

WM. O. SCROGGS

*Baton Rouge, La., February 9*

[The facts given in this letter necessitate a revision of figures as indicated. They do not, however, materially affect any conclusions drawn in the article. Louisiana is to be bracketed with South Dakota as voting upon more measures in 1916 than in 1914, instead of with States which took the opposite course.—ED. THE NATION.]

## THE THEFT OF A GREEK HEAD

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The following request just received from Athens will, I think, interest some of your readers, and if you will kindly give it publicity you may help those who watch the antiquarian market in the interest of our museums: The Greek Government asks that announcement be made of the theft from their museum in Tegea (Piali) of an interesting head found by the French in their excavations of 1900-1901. This head is published in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, XXV, 1901, pls. iv-v. Prof. Ernest Gardner in his "Handbook of Greek Sculpture" (edition of 1915), p. 415, seeks rather cautiously to connect the head with the torso of an Atalanta that probably belonged in one of the pediments of the Tegean temple, and he gives an illustration (Fig. 106) showing the head attached to the body. It is indeed none too probable that they belong together, but the lost head is in many ways an interesting thing in itself. J. R. WHEELER

*Columbia University, March 14*

## THE DECAY OF SOCIALISM

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I would venture to suggest that Mr. Gustavus Myers in his recent article "Why Idealists Quit the Socialist Party" places rather too much emphasis upon their dissatisfaction with the inner workings of the party. It seems to me that possibly the true cause of the defection may be found in the fact that these idealists no longer think that the party, no matter how well it may be managed, can ever be the means of realizing their ideals.

It may be said that practically every one of the so-called idealists—and I speak as one who joined the party thirty years ago and who "quit" comparatively recently—has become impressed with the impossibility of reorganizing present society into an ideal society by means of any political party, be it well managed or otherwise.

Why there has been this change of mind as to the potentialities of a political party is probably too long a story to burden your columns, but I may say that the doubts had been developing very fast immediately before the war, and the war itself has done much to confirm them. In short, the

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Syndicalist ideal—with its conception of a reorganized society springing from the bottom up through the formations of unions of the workers based on their respective industries, as opposed to the Socialist ideal of a conquest of the present state by a political party which was then to hand down from above the fruits of toil to the toilers—seems to have gained the allegiance of the Idealists.

May not the growth of this new idea explain much?

GAYLORD WILSHIRE

*Pasadena, Cal., February 21*

## THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your editorial columns of February 8 I find comment upon a report of a "committee on academic freedom and tenure of office, presented to the recent session of the Association of American Colleges in Chicago." It seems only fair to the other members of the committee who, in contrast to myself, were actively engaged in making this report, to say that I had no part whatever in either its preparation or its presentation to the Association. I send this word not as an expression of agreement or disagreement with the report, but simply as a statement of fact.

ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN

*Amherst College, February 26*

# BOOKS

## Dr. Santayana S'Amuse

*Egotism in German Philosophy.* By G. Santayana. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.50 net.

DR. SANTAYANA has long enjoyed the distinction of being the Shaw of the philosophers, supremely skilful as an artificer of phrases and diabolically clever. In this book he surpasses himself. It is fairly dazzling. And if not infrequently the brilliance of the sentence obscures the paragraph and the brightness of the paragraph casts the chapter in the shade, it does not matter much, for the book must be taken impressionistically, being the work of a writer who has elsewhere expressed his belief in "the vanity and superficiality of all logic and the needlessness of argument." It is true that the author continually yields to the besetting sin of the clever writer in sacrificing accuracy on the altar of wit. After all, it is a fairly simple matter to pillory any serious view of life if one allow oneself the license of the caricaturist, although to do so is scarcely in keeping with the spirit of philosophy which requires above all things fairmindedness and a certain measure of humility.

Dr. Santayana tells us in his preface that all he has undertaken to do is to "give the aroma of German philosophy that has reached his nostrils." He writes, in other words, as a connoisseur in philosophic odors. To make one's own *naseweise* ego the assessor of philosophical values might, one would suppose, be a supreme illustration of the subjective and egotistical method. In any case, the reader should study the sketches that result in the same spirit in which he would examine a volume of sketches by a clever cartoonist. If he reads the book in this fashion, not taking it too seriously, he will be highly entertained, if sometimes irritated. Questions of accuracy, of fidelity, are irrelevant.

Egotism Dr. Santayana defines as subjectivity in thought and wilfulness in morals. German egotism has its roots in Lutheran Protestantism, in its principle that "the authority of faith is intrinsic and absolute." It finds its most ambitious expression in German idealism in which "imagination that is sustained is called knowledge, illusion that is coherent is called truth, and will that is systematic is called virtue"—an idealism whose only sanction, sought or desired, is "the determination to reassert it." The seeds of this egotism are found in Kant, whose categorical imperative was the open door to fanaticism, since it gave an excuse for identifying self-assertion and ambition with the creative spirit of the universe. The ripened fruit comes in Fichte and in Hegel, for whom the dramatic progress of history "begins with Eden and ends in Berlin." It is found, more noisily expressed, in Stirner and Nietzsche. It appears also in Goethe, who in his romantic mood would absorb the world, who valued his experiences as stepping stones in the development of self:

> Every pathetic sweetheart in turn was a sort of Belgium to him; he violated her neutrality with a sigh; his heart bled for her innocent sufferings; and he never said afterward in self-defence, like the German Chancellor, that she was no better than she need be.

Schopenhauer, the one "gentleman" Dr. Santayana finds among German philosophers, he meets more nearly on terms of equality. Schopenhauer was not an egotist; his pessimism proves that. And his idealism was merely a gossamer robe, a superficial tribute to German genius, that failed to conceal his "great intuition," which was precisely "the priority of automatonism and instinct over the intellect."

In short, all the expressions of German genius, its Protestantism, its idealism, its Nietzschianism, its *Schwärmerei*, and its music, are so many gropings after its primitive heathenism. And heathenism is the primal and universal religion; the "religion of will, the faith which life has in itself because it is life, and in its aims because it is pursuing them." Happiness is not for wild animals, who cannot have it; or for heathen who despise it. To be happy one must be tamed and wise. One must learn by experience, "which empirical people never do." Happiness is the union of vitality with art.

Of course, Dr. Santayana does not hold those philosophers responsible for the war. But he thinks they "shared and justified prophetically that spirit of uncompromising self-assertion and metaphysical self-conceit which the German race is now reducing to action," so that their "glorified and dogged egotism," which had long been revealed to him, should now be evident to the whole world.

Unfortunately, the argument proves too much. Only a few years ago our author published an article on "The Genteel Tradition in American Philosophy," in which he undertook to show that all American philosophy came under the same ban. The only two objective thinkers America had produced, he there maintained, were Walt Whitman and William James. Whereupon he proceeded to set Walt Whitman aside, as being after all chaotic and lacking in constructive power, and William James, as having in the end surrendered to romanticism. And we are left with—Santayana, all alone, rhapsodizing in the forests of the Sierras.

Nor is there any reason why we should stop here. Almost all modern philosophy, and a good deal of mediæval

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philosophy, too, including all mysticism, every effort to emancipate the individual from the rule of authority and tradition—all can be dubbed egotistic on the principles employed by our author, for they all take their departure in human experience and view the interpretation of experience as determined in the last analysis by human needs and interests. And what, it may be asked, is the alternative? A return to authority and tradition? This is not our author's way out. Rather, let instinct rule, instinct tamed by art. Dr. Santayana is a classical æsthete.

As a discussion of German philosophy, this book must not be taken seriously. The fact is, the war has provided Dr. Santayana with the opportunity to give vent in public to his spleen and to have his pet aversions assume an air of objectivity that the sober judgment of peaceful times would have promptly assessed at their true value. That modern Germany, as revealed in her conduct of the war, in the utterances of her public men, and in her diplomatic blundering, is suffering from an acute attack of egotism is plain enough. A certain blindness has come over her leaders, an inability to put oneself in the place of the other fellow, an utter lack of sympathetic imagination, which is the real foundation of egotism. This is not the outgrowth of her philosophies, nor are her philosophies the outgrowth of it, though many of her philosophers may have shared this human failing. And it is little less than absurd to regard the war as a terrifying illustration of the limits and dangers of all German philosophizing.

## Hudson's Utopia

*A Crystal Age.* By W. H. Hudson. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. $1.50 net. (Third edition.)

IT is characteristic of the author of "Green Mansions" that he should dream of Utopia also as swayed by a purely natural polity. The people of his "Crystal Age" live unhampered by the many devices of man, thereby differing decidedly from the Utopians of Bellamy or of Wells. Unplaced, untimed, the eternal House which is the centre of this vision rises in a land of forest green and its inhabitants know nothing but the life of nature and the solaces of art. Ignorant of money and cities, of industrialism and history, they are again unlike modern Utopians in that they evince no fevered fret about arrangements and governments. Ageless and almost sexless, they merely observe the sweet reasonableness of their crystal souls; and their creator gently insinuates his doctrine through the medium of a charming story.

An ordinary young Englishman invades this Utopia, where he finds himself bewildered among new values. Amusing adjustments follow. The invader falls in love with a delightful girl, who responds to his advances in the manner of a child. The rest of the story concerns the development of the young man and of his love affair.

In the majority of Mr. Hudson's books—always excepting "Green Mansions"—the naturalist seems more to the fore than the artist. Here the latter controls the former's abundant wealth. Nature certainly serves as a well-known and well-loved background; there are many fine passages in which her life is mingled with that of man; and as of old there is an occasional wilful excursus about birds or bulls. Yet the striking thing is rather the artistic and dramatic unity of the volume: the unity of the story, which moves on, picking up anticipations, opening new vistas, down to its poignant close; and the consistency of the character development as seen in the invading Englishman, who quietly acquires a soul as the action progresses. He changes from a young cub to a passionate and understanding lover; from being an alien in the House, he is admitted to its matriarchal council chamber; generally he learns how to feel sensitively and to suffer. The fiction itself is in these respects kept prominently before us, and its illusive effect is marred neither by too much doctrine nor by cumbersome Utopian machinery.

The features of the imaginary Age are, however, interesting on their own account and also in relation to Hudson. The wide and open life which he displays is agricultural without, æsthetic within. Contact with the soil is moderated by holidays and aided by noble and intelligent animals—who yet have their independent life, for Hudson is seldom anthropomorphic about animals or pathetically fallacious about nature. But well-directed labor is usually the order of the day, and in this direction each of the world's mansions has its specialty and pride: this House is famous for its harvest songs, and costumes and ceremonial are brought to a high pitch of harmony.

The artistic strain is still more evident within the House, which is decorated with domes and statues and thrilled by uttermost music. Symbolism is present in the repetition of such words as "crystal," "green," "yellow." The religion of the House is exemplified in many ways: in the person of its august Mother, in the enduring nature of its establishment, in the fact that its children are artisans of beauty and thereby correlated for Hudson with the divine purpose in the universe. And yet the human element throughout is stressed by passages of mischievous humor and by the centring of our interest less on the age of innocence than on the two suffering passionate figures of the Mother and the hero.

The many who cared for "Green Mansions" will find here the same naïveté, the same beauty and poignancy. Naturalness in every respect is Hudson's keynote; this quality has vivified South America for us and it does no less for the remoter fictive land of the "Crystal Age."

## The Lure of the Southwest

*Our Hispanic Southwest.* By Ernest Peixotto. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

MR. PEIXOTTO is in no sense an agent for the "See America First" movement. Rather he comes back to his own land with enriched observation, and with more certain pen and brush because of abundant practice along the western shores of South America, in the Italian seas, and in the provinces of France. His native California, to which he has already devoted a volume, has given him an appropriate introduction to his new field. Thus he takes up his task with natural skill supplemented by extended training, and further prepares himself for it by careful consultation with historical and archæological experts and his noted fellow-artists. The result is a work that is not only popular in the best sense, but refreshingly well balanced and accurate.

Mr. Peixotto presents a varied mélange—history, geography, ethnology, in a most enticing artistic setting. Even in his sketch maps he makes a happy combination of pres-

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ent and past, although they are not all equally useful. Amid so much that is excellent we may point out a few minor slips. He has labelled a view of Main Plaza, San Antonio, as Military Plaza (p. 38). Deguillo (p. 42) should be deguëllo. The title "governor" does not properly belong to Nuño de Guzmán (p. 66). The former province of Nueva Galicia (p. 61) comprised more than the present Sonora. The striking desert plant appears both as "saguaro" and "sahuaro" (pp. 65, 106). The date of the founding of Santa Fé is not definite enough (pp. 77, 168). His historical sketches occasionally suffer from too great compression. But these faults are few in view of the many opportunities presented for error.

The Charm of New Orleans fittingly prepares us for what is to follow. The average American associates the early history of the Creole centre so thoroughly with the French that he will doubtless be surprised to note how much the Spaniards really influenced its development and present form—at least within the limits of the old city. In San Antonio the casual reader expects to find many reminders of its Spanish and Mexican origin. Here, in a physiographic sense, the "Hispanic Southwest" really begins. Like all towns he is thenceforth to describe, it contains its populous, well-marked Mexican quarter, and even more rapidly than its fellows is losing too many of its historic landmarks. Its river remains and "e'en its charm retains," although the picturesque *acéquias* are no more. The artist's eye is offended by public buildings that do not harmonize with history and environment, but the author generously attributes to affection the familiar but desecrating "Santone." In distant Santa Fé, to anticipate slightly, he finds cause also for mild criticism in the old Capitol with its hybrid Hispanic-Mexican architecture.

Within the provincial capital of Texas and beyond it to the old-time "Passo del Rio," with its modern unnecessary skyscrapers, the omnipresent regular, in uniform and up-to-date equipment, stationed in lonely camp or expansive post, gives added material for pen and brush. Melancholy mementos of the cause that brought him there are noted in ruined Juarez, where fortunately the Church of the Guadalupe still recalls the equally stirring days of the seventeenth century. To this church, architecturally simple but historically renowned, Mr. Peixotto gives full meed of attention. He has already paid his respects to stately and dignified Concepcion at San Antonio, and to its companion San José, with ornate but ruined façade of Spanish baroque. He reserves his greatest enthusiasm for San Xavier del Bac, monument of Father Kinó, and the "handsomest . . . the most complete and extensive Spanish mission within the boundaries of the United States."

In this Hispanic area Spanish and Mexican vestiges rest upon an Indian foundation. To the representatives of the aborigines, their free enticing environment, their rude but substantial dwellings, their churches of grim and primitive majesty, their picturesque costumes, peculiar religious practices, changing slowly but surely under the impulse of modern education and modern agricultural methods, he devotes a full half of his volume, and that by no means the less charming. A brief glimpse at the Grand Cañon renews his pride in this titanic chasm, which, he still feels, surpasses in grandeur and historic interest anything South America has to offer. Albuquerque, with its more accessible but less interesting pueblos; Acoma, the "Gibraltar of the Desert"; Santa Fé, still preserving atmosphere and landmarks suggestive of the days when it was the "end of the trail"; Taos, with natives so remote in spirit from modern life and an artist colony so skilfully preserving its colorful environment; Santa Cruz, with its hospitable priest —these and their neighboring pueblos are in turn visited and described by Mr. Peixotto, with an appropriate background of mountain and desert, and with a satisfying historical and archæological setting. The spell of his brush and pen cannot fail to awaken interest in a portion of our country still too little known and to arouse pleasing memories in those who have personally experienced the charm of our alluring Southwest.

## A Pioneer in Research

*Joseph Ritson: A Critical Biography.* By Henry Alfred Burd. Urbana: The University of Illinois. $1.15 net.

THE whole idea of modern research is bound up in the biography of this one man. For Joseph Ritson was undoubtedly a pioneer. It was he who continually emphasized, and criticised others into desiring, an impeccable accuracy and an assiduous attention to detail in the study of literary and historical antiquity.

It has been the practice of British scholars to despise modern research, but to use it. Peculiarly gratifying, then, is the rôle played by this Durham man who assailed the superficiality of Percy and Steevens and some untrustworthy Scottish historians. Living in the late eighteenth century (1752-1803), he instilled into the increasing number of antiquarians a desire for correctness in editing old texts. Though he scarcely did more than glimpse the ideal of thoroughgoing comparative handling of variants, his contribution was a first step in a significant direction. His insistence on seeing with his own eyes reputed manuscript originals may seem a little silly, but we must remember that this was the age of MacPherson, Chatterton, and Ireland. His vigorous vindictiveness alone blinded people to the real value of his work; but did not Dr. Johnson hang up a cudgel for MacPherson? When he quarrelled with Bishop Percy over the proper definition of the word "minstrel," when he flayed Steevens, Malone, and Reed for obfuscations of Shakespeare, when he squabbled with Pinkerton for a too vivid historical imagination, when he berated the reviewers as "formidable and mischievous gangs of nocturnal banditti or invisible footpads, equally cowardly and malignant"—when Ritson did these things he was, though offended contemporaries were not cognizant of the fact, doing an immense service for all future antiquarian investigation.

As any one who knows his Thackeray or Fanny Burney must realize, this was an age of song. Dr. Aikin and Dr. Arne were writing music, Dibdin was both writing and singing, Handel was celebrated in great performances in Westminster Abbey, comic operas were all the rage, French and Italian airs invaded London, and Vauxhall and Marylebone Gardens heard songs set to the most "enchanting tunes." Ritson then, with the same antiquarian interest which took him among the Edinburgh libraries in 1773 and led him to write a history of an ancient office which he held, stepping backwards into the past, collected and edited the old-time songs, popular poetry, and metrical romances upon which his reputation rests. When Burney and Hawkins were writing histories of music, he got to-

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gether provincial ballads, Durham poems, Scottish verses, patriotic rhythms of Lawrence Minot, snatches concerning Robin Hood, select collections "with their original airs," Yorkshire ditties, Northumberland minstrelsy, and love songs, drinking songs, and patriotic songs of all centuries. The interest in this type of versification was very great. Burns was singing in far-away Scotland, Dibdin was touring the provinces, Moore was preparing to entertain the salons of Lord Lansdowne, and later poets were soon to write stanzas for music and more genuine lyrics. The Romanticism of the new century, even then on its way, received no slight impulse from this activity. The collection of Dodsley, the volumes for which Johnson wrote his "Lives of the Poets," the "Specimens" of Coleridge—these were all part and parcel of the same general movement. In this movement, or in this "period," as the academically minded would say, belonged Joseph Ritson.

Personally, he led a strange life. Apprenticed to a lawyer at Stockton-on-Tees, he came up to London in 1775, and thereafter practiced the profession of a conveyancer. But although he wrote exactly and well upon his own profession, the interest nearest his heart gradually came to be antiquarian research of a literary nature. Almost every day he could be seen walking from his quarters in Gray's Inn to the British Museum, stooping slightly from bending over many books in his own and in public libraries; the determined jaw of a vigorous controversialist, the bold forehead of the scholar, and the thin, pale face of an acute investigator standing forth clear and sharp in contrast with the plain black suit he usually wore. He was distinctly a conveyancer, and a successful one, for in those days, as Charles Lamb has more recently said, literature might do very nicely as a staff, but would hardly serve as a crutch. His investigations, therefore, were to be ranked among his many avocations. For example, his avowed sympathy with the French Revolution impelled him to make a trip to Paris in 1791 with William Shield, the musician, who was likewise a radical, and who had assisted him on one of his collections. In common with other radicals—and he was on the side of the rebels in the Gordon Riots and in the arrest of Holcroft, Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall in 1794—he dressed simply, lived plainly, professed atheism, "detested every species of aristocracy," sneered at lawyers, and almost worshipped Paine, Voltaire, and Rousseau. He disagreed with Burke, who said that the French had shown themselves "the ablest architects of ruin that had hitherto existed in the world," and, praising "the dissemination and establishment of those sacred and fundamental principles of liberty and equality," declared that "no people ancient or modern was ever so deserving of admiration." Add to this his strict adherence and persistent advocacy of vegetarianism, and we have the man in all his eccentricity.

In his work he is significant; in his life he is interesting. If he hedged and "talked politics as little as possible in order to avoid Newgate," if he was a little too critical of the republican theories as to the effectiveness of the "force and energy of mind," if he was too unrestrained in his controversial pamphleteering in antiquarian matters, we must still render credit to his vigorous will and earnest endeavor. Like Holcroft and Gifford, he was mostly self-taught; and the credit is all his.

To a man whom scholars should respect and the public should not forget, this study by Mr. Burd is an adequate tribute. It is marred by scarcely any errors. There is one instance of bad proofreading (p. 195); there is an inconsistency in regard to the date of Ritson's appointment as High Bailiff of the Savoy (cf. pp. 27 and 51); and it is hardly acceptable to quote Carlyle as an historical authority to be used or as a worthy source when referring to incidents in the French Revolution (p. 174, *n.* 8). But these are inconsequential slips.

## An Assault on the Temple of Germanic Philology

*Commentary to the Germanic Laws and Mediæval Documents.* By Leo Wiener, Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures at Harvard University. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

THE unpretending title and modest proportions of Professor Wiener's book give little hint of its revolutionary theories, or of the elaborate arguments by which those theories are defended. It is proposed, in this volume and in another to appear in the future, to pull down many of the stately arches of the temple of Germanic philology about the heads of the worshippers, and to attack cherished shrines of Romance and Slavic philologists as well. Some outlines of this iconoclasm were given in the *Nation* for May 7, 1914, and detailed analysis in forthcoming publications was there promised. The author has now kept his word, and submitted to the world of scholars a mass of evidence in support of his very sensational contentions.

Adequate criticism of the main body of the book is difficult in a brief review. An enormous amount of linguistic detail, drawn from more than eighty different dialects, is presented to the reader with bewildering energy. Such detailed arguments demand detailed examination; here it will be possible only to test the soundness of the general method. The introductory material is more manageable, although this presupposes considerable knowledge of ethnography, paleography, theology, and history. The fairest way to treat the work seems to be to give a general outline of its aims and methods, with some indications of its errors. For it is our opinion that Professor Wiener's attempt to play the rôle of Samson in the halls of Germanic philology has failed.

The Preface, which also affords an introduction to the volume to come, states the way in which the study was undertaken—a point of some importance, since destructive criticism was not in the beginning intended. The work began with "analyzing and excerpting all the accessible documents, to the number of 250,000 or more, from the earliest times of the Roman Empire to the year 1300," in order to control the statements of Germanic, Romance, and Slavic philologists in regard to the history and meaning of words. The results showed "that hardly a historical fact, hardly a law, had been ascertained in connection with the morphological and semantic development of intrinsic words." Particularly puzzling to the author, moreover, was the discovery "that words which from the study of the documents could not possibly have existed before the sixth or seventh century, invariably turned up in the Gothic vocabulary." It was then revealed by "microscopic study of the Gothic language" that "there was not a single fact which could be construed as a proof that the Gothic documents, as we possess them, were written in the fourth cen-

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tury by Ulfilas. It soon turned out that the palæographic proof was flimsy and that the subject-matter of the Skeireins could not have been composed before the ninth century." The present book embodies only a small part of the results of these researches. "The second volume will discuss the more than two hundred words of Arabic origin in the Gothic Bible and in all the Germanic languages. I will also show that the Naples and Arezzo Gothic documents are late eighth century forgeries, that Jordanes has come down to us in manuscripts interpolated about the same time, that Germanic mythology is of a literary Gothic origin, based on Arabic sources, and that no literary documents in Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Old High German exist which do not show the influence of the Arabicised Gothic language."

Here is thunder in the index, indeed! We must, however, confine our discussion to the volume just published. The main part of the book is occupied with the "commentary to the Germanic laws and legal documents." In this the author aims to show that much material is really derived from Roman or non-Germanic sources. The first section of the general Introduction makes the underlying principle of these commentaries clearer. Here the general nature of the development of the early Germanic tribes is considered. In the first place, the assumption that the development of a people must be analogous to biological evolution is attacked, and cases of rapid transition from one state of society to another radically different are cited. The statement that the Germanic peoples had enjoyed, prior to the fifth century, a form of civilization similar to that of the centuries following, is challenged, and attention called to the fact that the documents which are held to prove the continuance of this early civilization "are compiled in the Latin language, and betray the Roman notarial attitude towards legal and social institutions." A somewhat elaborate parallel is then drawn between the early Germanic tribes and certain of the North American Indians. The Cherokees, in coming into close contact with the whites after the establishment of the United States, changed from the hunting to the agricultural state, and adopted the legal and political systems of the dominant race, though they were unconscious that their own laws were deduced from those of their neighbors. "Even so the Franks," says Professor Wiener, "were utterly unaware of the fact that their simple Salic and Ribuarian laws were derived from the Roman laws just as much, though not so directly, as were the Burgundian and Visigothic laws, and were based on the Theodosian Code and local Roman enactments."

This general line of argument is by no means new. Many years ago, Guizot, in his "Histoire de la Civilisation en France," pointed out how much the available sources of information in regard to the Germanic tribes before the Migrations have been influenced by later conceptions, that after the barbarian invasions "Germanic society was profoundly altered, and that these modifications affected the laws; the legal code of the Visigoths and that of the Burgundians are far more Roman than barbaric; three-quarters of their provisions deal with facts that could only have arisen after the establishment of these peoples upon Roman soil" (fourteenth edition, Paris, 1876, p. 202). Teutonic scholars are sharply criticised by Guizot for failing to make due allowances in reconstructing the primitive Germans from these later documents. Finally, he draws a series of parallels between the statements of Tacitus and descriptions of modern peoples in an early stage of culture, particularly the North American Indians, Iroquois, Illinois, Hurons, etc. "Vous voyez," he concludes, "quel est l'état social qui correspond à celui de l'ancienne Germanie: que faut-il donc penser des descriptions magnifiques qui en ont été si souvent tracées?" Guizot will do for an example; the problem is one which has troubled many clear-sighted scholars. "Our typical German," says Professor Gummere, "like Plato's ideal horse, is a very difficult matter to define and draw." It does not seem that Professor Wiener has given sufficient idea of previous discussions of this subject; the reader would at all events welcome some references to the authorities who have championed the views he is attacking, and to previous dissent from these views, where it has existed.

When all deductions have been made, comparisons with the North American Indians are likely to be more false than illuminating. It is not necessary to reduce the Germanic peoples of the Migration Period to such a level in order to prove the effects of Roman culture upon them. They were in possession of a highly artistic native poetry, revealing a state of society far removed from that of savages. This poetry, extant in late form, presupposes a long development; "Beowulf" represents an art already on the decline. Both the principles of Germanic society and the artistry of Germanic poetry were far removed from those of Rome. Attempts to show that elements in this civilization which seem thoroughly native were really derived from other sources must be received with caution.

These considerations lead us to question the antecedent probability of many etymologies in the main part of the book. The *sculta-sculan* argument (p. 50) will do for an illustration. "*Sculta*, then, meant, 'guilt, debt, compulsion, that which one owes.' . . . The underlying meaning is invariably 'the compulsion in cases of debt or crime,' hence Gothic *skuldō* 'that which one owes, a debt, due,' *skulds* 'owing,' and from this we get the back formations *skula* 'debtor, liable to, in danger of,' *skulan* 'to owe, to be obliged to, to be about to.' The Germanic philologist, who makes his facts fit in with his abstract laws, will be shocked at finding a preteropresent verb among those borrowed from a Latin root." The Gothic "*daugan*," Professor Wiener finds, is "also a preteropresent and borrowed from the Latin" (p. 50). We think the Germanic philologist ought to be shocked, because the thing is so improbable. The preteritive-present verbs bear in their inflection all the signs of long presence in the language, and their meaning is not secondary or special, but fundamental. They are in a very different class from learned words, which are easily taken over from another language. But we are asked to believe that these two preteritive-presents were borrowed from Latin in the late fourth century. Incidentally it may be remarked that there is no such form as *daugan* in Gothic.

This chapter (pp. 40-51) may serve as an example of Professor Wiener's methods, since it elaborates material which he selected for illustration in the article above referred to. "I will take one group of words," he there said, "and, treating them *historiologically*, not *philologically* [italics his], will show that Ulphilas could not have used them, even though they began to form in his day." There is certainly much in the historiological method to give pause to the philologist. Relationships established between words of similar meaning on the basis of slight phonetic correspondences may be significant, but are dangerous when

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uncontrolled by scientific observation of linguistic processes. The pitfall of "popular etymology" yawns wide. Furthermore, in this book suggested derivations are frequently put forward not as suggestions, but as statements of fact. "The form *exculeatores* of the *Notitia dignitatum* must have arisen from a shorter form *culeatores*, and this is actually found in Welsh and Cornish, that is, in British, until the present day. We have Cornish *golyas, gollyaz,*" etc., etc. (p. 40). "There are two series of crimes which are principally included in the amnesty, those arising from debt, and those arising from such pretty [*sic!*] crimes as do not call for serious criminal prosecution, hence we get from *(in)dulgere* in Goth. *dulgs,* 'debt' and in OHG *tolg, tolc,* OFrisian *dolg,*" etc., etc. (p. 47). Occasionally, however, a phrase like "no doubt" or "obviously" puts the reader on his guard. The argument is often confused, and the phraseology ambiguous or obscure. But these are minor issues. The chief question is whether the reader is prepared to reject all that linguistic science has contributed to an understanding of early dialects and follow the "historiological" method. If he is, then there is no point in attempting to refute these combinations by philological observations. If he is not, he will find that many of them suggest their own unsoundness.

The second part of the Introduction aims to show that the extant fragments of the Gothic Bible are not part of a translation by Ulfilas in the fourth century, and that the "Skeireins," a commentary on the Gospel of St. John, is based on Alcuin, and cannot have been written before 801.

Here again it is impossible to review the elaborate arguments from documentary evidence, paleography, theology, etc., but a few points may be noted. Philostorgius is authority for the statement that Ulfilas invented the Gothic alphabet, and that he translated the Bible, save the Book of Kings, which he omitted lest it should inflame the warlike Goths. "But Ulfilas," says Professor Wiener, "did not invent a Gothic alphabet, having at best added a few additional signs to the Greek letters then in use, and the reference to the omission of the Book of Kings is apocryphal, totally devoid of probability. We have, therefore, no reason to assume that the statement regarding the translation of the Bible is more correct." It must surely be remembered that Philostorgius was not speaking with the accuracy of the modern scholar; the combination of Greek, Latin, and Runic letters might well have seemed to him invention. If the reason for the omission of the Book of Kings is apocryphal, the fact may have been true, as Streitberg, a better authority than Gabelentz and Loebe, holds. It is significant that scholars like Bessell and Pallmann, who are often skeptical about the authority of Philostorgius, accept his statement in regard to the translation of the Bible. Where evidence fits his theory, our author is less assailed by doubts. Walafrid Strabo says the Bible was translated into Gothic by "learned men." He wrote in the ninth century, and Ulfilas flourished in the fourth—time enough for perversion of the facts, especially when the carelessness of mediæval ascriptions of authorship is remembered. But Professor Wiener accepts his evidence very readily: "Thus the ascription of the Gothic Bible to Ulfilas is once more made impossible." Before passing judgment on the argument that the Skeireins is based on Alcuin, it would be advisable to scrutinize the sources of Alcuin with some care. Some years ago, Professor Carleton Brown showed the weakness of Cook's theory of a late dating of Cynewulf's "Elene" on the ground of similarities to the work of Alcuin, by pointing out that the resemblances to Alcuin in the "Elene" hold equally for Alcuin's source. Such a situation is possible here.

Apparently a vast deal of time and labor have been expended upon this book. It is a pity that accepted methods of criticism have so often been slighted, and enthusiasm so often allowed to override caution. A great and revolutionary book—such as this would be if its conclusions were sound—should be lucid, poised, systematic, and rigorously critical. Only through these qualities can theories so far-reaching in their implications command attention and carry conviction to the judicious.

# Notes

PUBLICATIONS by Little, Brown & Company for Saturday are as follows: "The Hornet's Nest," by Mrs. Wilson Woodrow; "Joan and the Babies and I," by Cosmo Hamilton; "The Menace of Japan," by Frederick McCormick; "Mental Conflicts and Misconduct," by William Healy; "Psychology of Special Abilities and Disabilities," by Augusta F. Bronner.

"Second Wind," by Freeman Tilden, and "Howells," by Alexander Harvey, are announced as forthcoming by B. W. Huebsch.

Dodd, Mead & Company will publish the following volumes on Saturday: "The Girls at His Billet," by Berta Ruck; "Shadows," by Grahame Richards; "The Life of the Grasshopper," by J. Henri Fabre, translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos; "Man's Unconscious Conflict," by Wilfrid Lay, and "Across Asia Minor on Foot," by W. J. Childs.

"Flame and the Shadow Eater," by Henrietta Weaver, and "Poems of Earth's Meaning," by Richard Burton, are included in the spring list of Henry Holt & Company.

The following volumes are announced as forthcoming by G. P. Putnam's Sons: "The Man in Evening Clothes," by John Reed Scott; "Antony Gray—Gardener," by Leslie Moore; "The Song of the Sirens," by Grace Denio Litchfield; "Chocolate Cake and Black Sand and Other Plays," by Samuel Milbank Cauldwell; "The Government of England—National, Local, and Imperial," by D. D. Wallace; "The Man in Court," by F. D. Wells, and "The Fragrant Notebook," by C. Arthur Coan.

THE lamentable manifesto issued by German professors directly after the outbreak of the war has not been forgotten, but it is now counterbalanced happily enough by a collection of essays of similar origin, "Modern Germany in Relation to the Great War" (Mitchell Kennerley; $2 net). As an offset to passionate recriminations we have a philosophic book inspired by the purpose "to reveal and express Germany to the world in terms of German civilization and German social vision." The table of contents of the new books makes a notable display of authors and topics; it cites not only the names of Delbrück, Schmoller, and Troeltsch, of Berlin; of Marcks, of Munich, and of Oncken, of Heidelberg, but also a range of themes embracing economic statistics, the spirit of self-government in Germany, international law, the meaning of the war, and discussions of the spirit and motives of Germany's allies and enemies. Vigorous exception may be taken to indi-

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vidual conclusions and imputations contained in the book. Schmoller asks us (p. 217), in stating "the world-embracing plans of Germany's enemies," to accept his simple assurance that "we Germans shall not succumb to the danger of trying to dominate the world; we are, therefore, the nation capable of doing most for the advancement of international law and international arbitration." In connection with the diplomatic conflict about Morocco, Oncken postulates (p. 487) "the absolute dependence of the political and non-political brains in America on English arguments." Professor Schoenborn, of Heidelberg, who refrains explicitly from inquiring whether the invasion of Belgium was politically wise or expedient, convinces himself (p. 545) that if Germany had observed the neutrality of Belgium, she would have committed suicide. In spite of such statements as these, however, "Modern Germany" offers a comparatively sober, keen, and lucid realization of its purpose. Its authors are very much in earnest, but they hurl few epithets, and those few not at all recklessly. W. W. Whitelock's translation of the original, "Deutschland und der Weltkrieg," remains on a high level throughout. Without the data which Dr. Whitelock gives, the reader would accept his work as an English original.

TWO volumes on the "IIe Congrès de la Houille blanche" (457 and 455 pages, 4to, with maps, plans, and photo-illustrations), including reports "which were to have been presented" in Lyons, September, 1914, are published by the "Chambre syndicale des Forces Hydrauliques, de l'Electrochimie, de l'Electrométallurgie, et des Industries qui s'y rattachent." These two handsome volumes have a melancholy interest quite apart from their scientific value. "Germany, by loosing the terrible scourge of war over most of Europe, stopped short the great demonstration of peace given by the city of Lyons." The second Congress of "white coal," which is the picturesque name given by the French to hydraulic power used industrially to generate electric force, was to have been held in September, 1914—but then German armies were retreating from the Marne before Paris and Lyons, like the rest of France, was heart and soul in the struggle for life. That the work which had been prepared might not be lost, the scientific papers which were to have been read to the Congress have been published two years later, while war is still on. France still lives. The foreign reports appear with the French—except, of course, those which were to have come from Germany and Austria. Charles B. Fernald treats United States legislation concerning the utilization of the motor force of watercourses, and Rome G. Brown the problem of hydraulic force in the United States. To students, the French reports on the economic uses of such power in metallurgy, electric traction, and agriculture, and the technical volume showing what has already been done, particularly in the French Alps, should be of practical use as well as interest. We are thus made acquainted with the development of an industrial power which not only transforms regions, but helps to save whole countries straitened by the destruction of this war.

FROM the University of Chicago Press comes a treatise on "Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome," by Prof. Clarence Eugene Boyd, of Emory College ($1 net). The source material for such a study is exceedingly fragmentary, and a very few lines of print would record all the positive information that can be gathered concerning any single library known to have existed in ancient Rome. There are some things, however, so inherent in the very nature of a public library that any formal citation of evidence to connect them with the libraries of Rome seems hardly necessary. That one of the advantages of a public library, for instance, is "the preservation of books and records" might safely be assumed. But the waste of ink and effort in demonstrating the obvious is less harmful than the occasional assumption of that which is neither obvious nor supported by evidence. The author gives no ground for his assumption that Asinius Pollio, in establishing the first library opened to the public at Rome, was merely carrying out an official duty imposed upon him by Augustus. The statement of Suetonius that Julius Cæsar had intended the establishment of a public collection of Greek and Latin literature, and had selected Varro to carry the idea into execution, does not warrant the conclusion by analogy that a similar relation existed between Augustus and the work of Pollio. Still further, we have several passages in ancient authors positively connecting the name of Pollio with the library and making no mention whatever of Augustus. The fair conclusion is that the institution of the public library at Rome had its concrete beginning not in an act of the Imperial Government, but in the public spirit of a wealthy citizen.

"TRUST Laws and Unfair Competition" (Washington: Government Printing Office; 40 cents) is an unusually valuable compilation. A great mass of information on these topics has been gathered by the Commissioner of Corporations, Joseph E. Davies, and is presented in a satisfactory manner. Following a brief review of anti-Trust legislation in England and this country we have a digest of the common legal decisions relating to agreements in restrain of trade. The Sherman Anti-Trust act and its judicial interpretation are then discussed at length. Other Federal anti-Trust laws, including the Federal Trade Commission act of 1914 and the Clayton Anti-Trust act of the same year, receive some consideration; and the most important parts of State anti-Trust legislation are presented and discussed with care and thoroughness. In fact, the reader will find in this chapter a vast mine of information relating to State Constitutions and statutes, as well as to judicial decisions which have construed and applied them. The Trust laws in foreign countries "present a great variety of governmental policy, extending from prohibition under the criminal law to compulsory obligation to form such combinations in certain cases." In the first class are the laws of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, France, and Russia. In the second class are those of Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy. Examples of each class are reprinted in the Appendix. The discussion of German laws which promote or compel trade combinations that would be illegal with us is illuminating. A book dealer's combination has been declared lawful by the German Imperial Court, although its object was to preserve a living basis of profits for its members by fixed rebates or discounts, and by other means devised to prevent the depreciation of book prices. Such a combination the court found was not "a speculative ring for the purpose of controlling the market and destroying the free activity of economic forces." Nor was it "repugnant to good morals." The standard of morals to be applied in such cases, the German court

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declares, is the sense of propriety of honorable merchants. Undoubtedly the American Publishers' Association would prefer this doctrine to that of the Sherman Anti-Trust act as expounded in the Straus case (231 U. S., 222), for it would have justified their attempt to maintain the retail price upon net copyrighted books. Statutes and judicial decisions of foreign countries, as well as of the United States, bearing on unfair competition are digested and discussed in the latter half of the volume. An extended Table of Contents, a Table of Cases, and a carefully prepared Index add greatly to the value of this publication as a handy reference book.

AT the present time the sufferings caused by war are so present with us from first-hand narratives or from direct, personal knowledge, that treatment of the theme in fiction or the drama must have unusual merit in order to command attention. Some such distinction belongs to the drama "War," by the Russian novelist Michael Artzibashef (Knopf; $1 net). The situation is in one sense familiar: young men, hale and vigorous, depart to the war, in which they are killed, or from which they return hopeless cripples, while only the old and infirm, the sick, and the selfish remain at home in safety. But in this instance, the people left at home are not virtuous and respectable religious moralizers: they are an old colonel, who drivels reminiscences of the war with Turkey; his commonplace wife; their handsome, sensual daughter, who is married to a Russian officer, but who in his absence can hardly resist the physical attraction exercised over her by a neighboring proprietor, "a well-fed animal"; a sentimental girl, and a cynical, consumptive student. Amid this unelevating environment elemental human griefs ring true and poignant as in the best regulated families; traits of nobility develop in apparently callous natures. But scarcely a gleam of patriotism, to say nothing of loftier moral idealism, enlivens the picture, which is of war in its most horrible aspect, of sordid misery. The work is well done, in the traditions of Russian realism, a fragment of the truth.

FOR years some of the best stories of H. C. Bunner, his "Short Sixes: Stories to be Read While the Candle Burns," and his "More Short Sixes," both published by the office of *Puck* early in the nineties, have been difficult to obtain. They have now been republished in two volumes by Charles Scribner's Sons ($1.35 net). No one who has read "Zenobia's Infidelity," the story of a circus elephant, and her most annoying and dangerous affection for the village doctor who cured her of some burns, or "The Nice People," the narrative of the suspicions and troubles incurred by a newly married couple who went too far in trying to conceal their bridal state, or "Samantha Boom-De-Ay," the explanation of how a staid New England matron came to be driving down a country road in the costume of a ballet girl, and of what befell her in consequence, is likely to forget the genial entertainment they offer. The stories all have a pleasant and subtle humor, and one that pervades character and plot in equal degree. With the first volume is published Bunner's "The Suburban Sage," being sketches of the suburbanite and of his craze for planning houses, of his troubles with furnace caretakers, of his wife's slow drift to the most fashionable church, of the disdain with which those who take the 8:22 look upon those who have to catch the 8:01, those of the 9:03 upon the commuters of the 8:46, and so on. With the "More Short Sixes" is included the brief novel, "The Runaway Browns," a slight but engaging story of a young couple who shut up house and go questing for adventure, meeting tramps, tinkers, and what not, and furnishing the medium through which Bunner expresses a good deal of wisely humorous observation of the town and country folk of New York State and lower New England.

THE story of the great passes of the Western and Central Alps is told by the leading authority on the subject, Douglas W. Freshfield, in the *Geographical Journal* for January. At first they were few in number, but as the Roman Empire broke up they became more numerous. Soon with the making of tunnels, he says, "we shall be carried like sardines in a box from one Palace Hotel to another." On the Great St. Bernard Pass in the Abbey of St. Maurice is the finest collection of magnificent golden and other ornaments of early date in Europe. Among these is the golden jug which Charlemagne himself presented to commemorate his passage, and the reliquary locket worn by St. Louis and given by him to the Abbey. Among the other subjects treated are a consideration of the possibility of ascending the loftier Himalaya and the sand-dunes in the Peruvian desert. In the December issue of the same journal the article of most general interest was Mrs. Cecil Clementi's account of her journey in British Guiana to the summit of Mount Roraima. There was also an interesting tribute to Richard Hakluyt, the great geographical historian, in commemoration of the tercentenary of his death, and a description of the physical conditions of the Weddell Sea, provided originally for the guidance of those going for the relief of the Shackleton Expedition.

MARSHALL KELLY, a Briton, long confessedly "a follower of Carlyle's," as he says of himself, has published, through "Jean Wick, Authors' Agent," a strange book called "Carlyle and the War" ($1). Mr. Kelly has learned from his master that Britain is mendacious, Germany heroic, and France responsible for the war. Of what breed of Briton he may be, we do know, but of his supposed Carlylese the following is an early and typical specimen: "We have to do with actual flesh and blood; and these arch-fiends, with their superhuman foreknowledges and cunning, which makes mere mortal shudder, are creatures of the fancy." Such English might arouse suspicions; it is probably mere illiteracy.

SOME of the "Marvels of Scientific Invention" are collected in an interesting account by Thomas W. Corbin and published by Lippincott ($1.25 net). The subjects include guns, torpedoes, the use of high explosives on farms, submarines, protection in mines, smelting, freezing, color photography, and electrical testing. These inventions and their uses are told in a pleasant fashion and their scientific aspects are described accurately in non-technical language.

MR. WILLIAM FOSTER has added another volume to his valuable series embracing the early records of the British factories in India. "A Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company, 1655-1659" (Oxford University Press; 12s. 6d. net), gives an intimate survey of the commercial activities of the "merchaunt adventurers" under

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the Protectorate. It is a question whether some day our historians of early American commerce will set to work to uncover similar records and ledgers, doubtless still extant, of the enterprise that later sent Yankee ships from Salem, Boston, and other New England seaports. It is interesting to find a topical echo in the various requests made to Cromwell for armed convoys against the Spanish and Dutch privateers that had many of these rich Indiamen at their mercy: along with the bills of lading are several entries for shells and mortars with which the company was obliged to equip their ships. The financial straits in which the Commonwealth found itself are revealed in the request for a loan from the company wherewith to pay the sailors of Admiral Blake's squadron; and damages having been obtained by the Protector for the company from the Dutch for unwarranted aggressions, from this award a loan amounting to £50,000 was demanded under security of the Great Seal, £30,000 of which went to pay "the forces that are to be reduced in Scotland." A document of the period is quoted against Thurloe, in which he was promised £500 yearly, and the additional present of a "fair jewell" for "Mr. Sacataries ladie," if he used his influence with Cromwell to obtain for an ex-president of the factory at Surat reappointment to that post.

THESE pages possess an undeniable romance running through their dry records of Board meetings, with intimate glimpses of the company's parochialism. Reference is made in one place to the custom of auctioning goods by candle at the company's storehouse, when bids for the various cargoes were received so long as the candle lasted. The merchandise consisted largely of Indian cloths, silks, and spices, including "coho seede" or coffee berries, the beverage having just come into fashion from the Levant. By 1660 coffee from India began to appear at the London sales. Among the requests from the company's factors abroad was that of William Garway in 1658, to the effect that the King of Persia wanted an English "lymbner," and it was then resolved to send a good artist, if any. In 1656 the company's desire for a legalization of their monopoly of trade, and the first sign of control over their factors in such absolute command of their destinies half the world away, is seen in the model of government drawn up, which eventually grew more elaborate when the English faced the French in India. From the days of a mere Governor of the company's factory, to Governor-General of the company's possessions in India, and the Viceroy of the present day, is a romantic history. On one occasion the company lost heavily to their astute Persian allies after a joint victory over the Portuguese, their officers "caroosing in their jollities when they shold have bin imployed in deviding the purchase." But despite Governors the problem of control was not settled until the time of Clive, when illicit trading and native oppression reached an unbearable status which seriously affected the dividends.


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# Martyrs of Misfaith

". . . Chi è costui, che, senza morte,
Va per lo regno della morta gente?"

I

THE doom of love is bitter to their heart,
The doom of life is heavy on their mind,
But certitude is theirs, what else depart,
And knowledge that no dream can ever blind.
No joy of dawning day is theirs, or lone
Serenity of hills; they are not slave
To any lovely thing; for they have known
The fore-felt bitter anguish of the grave.
Slowly they move, with courage that's begot
In finer stuff than earth has ever made—
Deathless it seems although they reck it not—
Taking their sunless way to where the shade
Hides them from our eyes and they are thrust
Down to the last inevitable dust.

II

A little span of beauty and of love
For some is life and all that it may hold;
For nothing here has any worth above—
Quick in their morning vigor ere they fold—
The flashing wings of beauty and the glance
Struck from a moment's tameless ecstasy;
So, swift in passion finding utterance,
They would burn out a brief eternity.
Childlike they seem, with all its innocence,
Wistful, like children playing with a toy,
And none of them is sad or makes pretence
Of any sorrow deeper than his joy,
Till, with reluctant glances, they are fled
To dwell in breathless beauty with the dead.

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III

Others are jealous of a wider scope
And nurse within their anxious hearts a faith,
Dearer to them and not so blind as hope,
That in the lifeless future years some wraith
Of their essential selves will somehow cling
About all noble deeds that they have wrought.
So they are stanch through grief and suffering
And toil in pain till some day shall have brought
A beauty set about with weary hours,
A deed, a thought, a dream, whate'er it be,
Which they do ever claim and hold as true,
A moment's vast supremacy whereto
They dedicate themselves that their brief flowers
May bud an instant in eternity.

CHARLES R. MURPHY

# Philosophy for Schoolboys

THERE is a little sheaf of sentences bearing all the marks of original composition which, to my knowledge, no student of Hazlitt has ever noticed, and which should be of interest not only to Hazlitt's admirers, but to students of literature in general. It appears inconspicuously enough under the title "Select Sentences for Parsing" in one of the appendices to the English Grammar thus sonorously described: "A New and Improved Grammar of the English Tongue; For the Use of Schools. In which the genius of our speech is especially attended to, and the discoveries of Mr. Horne Tooke and other modern writers on the formation of language are for the first time incorporated. By William Hazlitt. Author of an Essay on the Principles of Human Action, etc., etc., etc. . . . London. Printed for M. J. Godwin, at the Juvenile Library, No. 41 Skimpole Street; and to be had of all Booksellers. 1810."

Hazlitt composed the book for William Godwin in 1810, during the period when he was serving his literary apprenticeship. It was not successful, and was never reprinted, the preface alone being reproduced in the collected edition of Glover and Waller. It is, however, worth observing by the way that the grammar has unusual merits, merits which precluded its success as a schoolbook. Hazlitt approached seriously the difficult task of defining the grammatical categories and worked out definitions of striking clarity and originality, though not of a simplicity accommodated to the infant mind. He brought into play that taste for philosophical analysis which should justify his styling himself on the title page the "Author of an Essay on the Principles of Human Action." It is to the same invincible bent for self-expression that we owe the set of sentences in question.

Instead of saving himself labor by the traditional recourse to Addison and Johnson, Hazlitt took pains himself to compose a series of sentences for parsing. He departed further from the practice of the popular grammarians of the day, like Lindley Murray, who aimed in their examples to inculcate lessons of religion and morality of a kind to supplement the instruction in the catechism. Hazlitt's sentences are all individual, and even when they are almost commonplace, as they sometimes are, they carry a personal or autobiographical hint. Their significance will be realized better when we recall that he wrote them five years before he was to begin his career as a miscellaneous essayist in the pages of Leigh Hunt's *Examiner*. His irrepressible egotism seized this most unpromising opportunity to voice itself. He talks of friendships and quarrels and revenge with a moralist's air of detachment, but from behind the philosopher's mask the personal bitterness breaks out: "If you have one friend, think yourself happy." He vents his scorn of all false pretences, his impatience with stupidity and folly. Forgetting that he is writing for schoolboys, he delivers himself of a penetrating thought or an incisive epigram as if he were addressing himself to his intellectual peers. In this score of sentences we can trace his reading in Montaigne and discover the anticipation of some of his more characteristic later reflections, the germ of later essays, and that mingling of fine and ideal sentiment with acrimonious flavor which is Hazlitt.

The form itself of the sentences is one to which he was subsequently to devote a good deal of care, his "Characteristics in the Manner of La Rochefoucauld" and "Aphorisms on Man" being among the best English examples of prose epigram. For these reasons of biographical and historical significance, I think it worth while to call attention to this group of sentences. They are to be found on pages 158-9 of the Grammar, as follows:

SELECT SENTENCES FOR PARSING

It is wiser to prevent a quarrel beforehand, than to revenge it afterwards.

No revenge is more heroic than that which torments envy by doing good.

A man may have a thousand intimate acquaintances, and not a friend among them all. If you have one friend, think yourself happy.

When once you profess yourself a friend, endeavor to be always such. He can never have any true friends, that will be often changing them.

When our vices leave us, we flatter ourselves that we leave them.

It is as great a point of wisdom to hide ignorance, as to discover knowledge.

Pitch upon that course of life which is the most excellent; and habit will render it the most delightful.

Custom is the plague of wise men, and the idol of fools.

No man was ever cast down with the injuries of fortune, unless he had before suffered himself to be deceived by her favors.

None more impatiently suffer injuries than those that are most forward in doing them.

By taking revenge, a man is but even with his enemy; but in passing it over, he is superior.

Some would be thought to do great things, who are but tools and instruments; like the fool who fancied he played upon the organ, when he only blew the bellows.

He who wants good sense is unhappy in having learning; for he has thereby the more ways of exposing himself.

The coin that is most current among mankind is flattery; the only benefit of which is, that by hearing what we are not, we may be instructed what we ought to be.

A good word is an easy obligation; but not to speak ill requires only our silence, which costs us nothing.

Censure is the tax a man pays to the public for being eminent.

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To endeavor to work upon the vulgar with fine sense, is like attempting to hew blocks of marble with a razor.

Every person insensibly fixes upon some degree of refinement in his discourse, some measure of thought which he thinks worth exhibiting. It is wise to fix this pretty high, although it occasions one to talk the less.

JACOB ZEITLIN

# Notes from the Capital

## Myron T. Herrick

GIVEN a fair supply of common-sense and a definite purpose overhead, with a sound body underneath, the making of a successful business man becomes about as much a matter of psychological influence as of genius or experience. The candidate for honors in this line must be able to create in his neighbors a feeling that he has already practically attained the end he is really still striving for. In the current slang of the day, he must "keep ahead of the game," for there was never a wiser adage than that success feeds upon itself. To him that hath shall be given, since all men wish to tie to him. This will explain my guess that half the eminence of Myron Timothy Herrick, of Ohio, is traceable originally to his appearance. Notice him well as he comes towards us. Are you willing to believe that so bright and expansive a face can mask a mind filled with cares? What has he done with that load of responsibilities which have been thrown upon him at various stages of his career? Are you not ready to assume that, if he has ever been threatened with worries, he has given them so wide a berth that they have not so much as brushed the fringe of his garments? Is it not that pleasant smile and cheerful way of speaking which make men swarm to the support of any business "proposition" he takes up? Unless his expectations were habitually justified by results, how could he look as he does?

He has always presented the same appearance of "all's well with the world" during the twenty years or more of our acquaintance, and persons who have been his friends from boyhood tell me that they cannot remember his ever being otherwise. When, in order to earn his way through college, he spent his vacations peddling dinner-bells through the country districts near his home, he needed only, with such a face and air, to assure a farmer that the bell he was offering would last a lifetime, and out came the money. The fact that a good many of the bells he thus disposed of were still in use after thirty years' service—as attested by purchasers who attended his rural mass meetings when he was running for Governor of Ohio—speaks well for his good faith, but there is a yet better story told of him in connection with his first appearance in a larger field. He was still a comparative youth when he was taken into the employ of a bank to which a personal friend came presently seeking a loan. This man persuaded Herrick, in consideration of their intimacy, to endorse his note. The money was lent, not on the strength of the endorsement—for the bank managers knew that Herrick had nothing to depend upon except his salary—but on the borrower's general reputation for honesty. Hard times followed, and the maker of the note found himself unable to redeem it. The bank had no thought of calling upon Herrick to make good, but he had equally no thought of letting his name stand on a dishonored piece of paper. He asked as a favor to be allowed to pay his friend's debt by instalments. Consent was given, and thereafter whatever he could spare from his modest income went regularly into the bank's hopper till the last penny was paid. It meant a good many privations first and last, but it was probably the best investment he ever made, for the local renown it won for him gave him his start in life and raised him from obscurity to a real position in the business world of Cleveland.

Several years passed before the next incident occurred to put his mettle to the test. This was his tilt with J. Pierpont Morgan over a question of railway policy. Morgan was a man who dealt only in mammoth enterprises and big figures, and when he bore down upon an opponent the latter was likely to be crushed if he could not be convinced. For this reason few less powerful men dared to stand up stiffly against his expressed will. Herrick was one of the few, and, having mastered the minutest details of the matter on which they disagreed—a concession to the Gould interests which was fair enough of itself, but threatened to interfere with some of Morgan's pet plans—he proved more than a match for the financier, who was able to argue only the broad general phases of the subject. Morgan was sorely irritated at first, but, on second thought, though unwilling to confess himself converted, recognized the tactical superiority of his adversary's position, and conceived an enormous admiration of his cleverness and courage. So far did this sentiment carry him that, on learning of the intention of Lyman J. Gage to retire from the Cabinet, he hastened to recommend the appointment of Herrick to be Secretary of the Treasury. With all his promptness, however, he was a trifle too late, Leslie M. Shaw, of Iowa, having already been selected and consulted.

Herrick's elevation to the Governorship of Ohio was natural enough, in view of the esteem in which his fellow Buckeyes held him, and the business aspects of the office; but what induced him to enter diplomatic life has been a mystery to many observers of his career. What could be the attraction for a man of his stamp and experience of a post in our foreign service, with its barrenness of practical opportunity and its multitude of ceremonial artificialities? Probably, had it presented only this side to his view, he would not have cared to waste time on it; indeed, he had declined the embassy to Italy before the embassy to France came his way. The explanation of his change of base lies in the fact that he had been making a careful study of the subject of rural credits. As the son of a farmer of narrow means, he knew the difficulty persons like his father encountered in trying to raise the capital necessary to put their work upon a level with other commercial enterprises. The few efforts made in this country to lift farming out of its rut had been engineered by cranks or self-seeking demagogues through the Farmers' Alliance, the People's Party, the Free-Silver propaganda, and the like, and had earned only a fatal public contempt. Meanwhile, France in the Credit Foncier and Germany in the Landschaft associations appeared to have tackled the problem with a fair promise of success. The opportunity which would be afforded him by a few years' residence in Paris, punctuated by occasional excursions across the Rhine, was therefore not to be cast lightly aside. What a godsend to France, and how happy a stroke for the name of our country, his decision eventually proved, is now history.

TATTLER

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# Reviews of Plays

## "OUR BETTERS"

THE charge of insubstantiality commonly brought against Mr. Somerset Maugham's plays cannot be applied to his latest production at the Hudson Theatre. It is strong meat, so strong indeed as to become at times positively odorous. Called a comedy, it should properly be a satire were it only relieved by one touch of human kindliness. But beneath all its wit (and there are plenty of good lines) it is too savage, too indiscriminate to be effective satire. The opportunity was there. The expatriated American of London society, neither flesh, fowl, nor good red herring, despising his own crude country and proud of so perfect an English accent as just to betray him—this is a good type for satire (especially when so well played as it is by Joseph McManus), though we question whether it is a common one, and so is the American girl who has bartered her money for a title and found the price too high. These people, no longer satisfied with their own country, but at the same time always somehow at loose ends in the new one, because they have only privileges and no duties, are legitimate objects of satire. But Mr. Maugham overstrains his point; he shows us all black or all white. The only escape from impurity for Elizabeth Saunders is to go back by the first boat to America, rejecting the impecunious but clean and decent young English nobleman who really loves her. For those who have stayed, and who were just like her to start with, there is no choice but to become rather high-class courtesans. This Mr. Maugham proceeds with gusto to make them through three acts. For all its amusing quips and turns, the piece leaves an unpleasant taste in the mouth without convincing one of its sincerity.

The acting by the cast which John D. Williams has selected is so good as almost to make amends for the intrinsic weaknesses of the play. Miss Rose Coghlan, as the Duchesse de Surennes, bears off principal honors, making her scenes with her youthful and parasitic lover so amusing as to gloss over the inherent unpleasantness of the situation, while Ronald Squire, as the lover, achieves the miracle of gaining the sympathy of the audience without sacrifice of fidelity to his rôle. Miss Chrystal Herne, as the cynical and unscrupulous Lady Grayston, a part the exact opposite of those that she has usually played, is so successful as to make one regret time spent on other rôles. Miss Diantha Pattison, Miss Leonore Harris, and Arthur Chesney, among others, contribute excellent performances. S. W.

## "THE BRAT"

OF playmaking in the better sense this entertaining piece by Miss Maude Fulton is almost entirely innocent. The title rôle, which is filled by Miss Fulton herself, suffices to make one forget the claptrap melodrama of the rest. A famous young novelist on the lookout for types finds at the Night Court a girl whom he wishes to study and to embody in a story. Hence he takes her to his mother's home and arranges to have her live there until the sketch is completed. This occupies six weeks, and in this time she imagines that like every one else she is in love with him. In reality, as it turns out, she has all the time been in love with the novelist's brother, a fellow of good instincts if inclined to drink too much. In the end, of course, he proves to be the better man of the two and marries the girl. It is the raciness of the "brat's" conversation which holds the play together; as a type she is drawn with considerable skill. F.

# Finance

## The Russian Revolution

THE sudden, unexpected, and highly sensational news from Petrograd last Thursday afternoon, describing the overthrow of the Imperial Government, the declaration of the army for the Duma, the imprisonment of Cabinet Ministers suspected of intrigue with Germany, and the anticipated abdication of the Czar, may be said to have caught financial markets, like the world at large, totally unprepared. Observant public men and observant financiers had been watching Petrograd uneasily, believing that some momentous turn in events would soon occur. But no one had expected exactly what happened. Perhaps there was never quite so complete a downfall of a Government since Louis XVI put the cap of liberty on his head at Versailles in 1789.

If, however, the Stock Exchange's action on receiving this extraordinary news were to be accepted as the verdict of "inside" political as well as financial observers, that verdict was unmistakably favorable. The new Russian 5½ per cent. short-term notes, lately placed in America, declined a point when the first news from Petrograd arrived, the 6½ per cents ¼; but they recovered next day. Even New York exchange moved sharply in favor of Petrograd; the closing rate on Saturday was nearly 1 cent higher than at the end of the previous week.

What was equally to the point, as reflecting financial judgment, was the rise on the stock markets of London, Paris, and New York which followed the Russian news. Cables from financial London reported the opinion in that quarter that "the dark cloud which has so long enveloped all operations of the Russian Government is dispersing"; that "the connection of German intrigue with Russia's recent military and political fiascos had been perfectly understood"; that the German emissaries had hoped, as a result of an attempted revolution, for "anarchy such as would paralyze Russia's fighting strength," and that the sudden overthrow of this conspiracy was "a great disaster to Germany, equivalent to a defeat in the field."

Yet the manifest satisfaction with which the great financial markets received this news from Petrograd was no foregone conclusion. The average man who had read beforehand of an impending revolt in Russia thought of it as a grave menace to the cause of the Allies. The picture suggested by such a prediction was the picture of 1905, when the populace on their way to the Winter Palace were fired on by the troops at the Troitzky Bridge; when the Cossacks rode down the people in the streets; when all the railway employees struck work and the newspapers ceased to appear, and when the furious peasants in the rural districts stabbed the horses and cattle of their landlords. Recurrence of such conditions now would have had no agreeable bearing on the military campaign.

It had been reported that even the German offensive on the East was waiting for the outbreak; and the fact that the first news of Thursday came in a cable from the official news agency at Berlin suggested doubts. But the rise on the

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Stock Exchange foreshadowed the knowledge which every one possesses now, that the Petrograd revolution, begun and conducted as it was, had in point of fact shattered one of the most powerful and effective machines built up by official Germany's foreign intrigues since the war began. At any rate, Russia of 1917 was no Greece of 1916.

No one supposes that the story of the Russian revolution is completed. A provisional government and its successor under a new Constitution have primarily the task of conducting the war. But they will also have to legislate on home affairs, and that problem is of a very serious character. The French Revolution of 1789 was equally complete, and it began with sound and public-spirited measures; yet it had lasted only a very brief time before its legislators drifted into the wildest experiments with irredeemable paper money and applied themselves to uprooting the institutions of ordinary life.

It is true, there is not much present comfort for Germany, even in that analogy; for when actually confronted with war, the French Revolutionary Government conducted a far more formidable campaign than those of the Bourbon régime. But it remains to be seen how far, in the economic field, the new Russian Government can escape temptations which always beset a revolutionary legislature, and which, in fact, are besetting the whole of Europe under the present extraordinary conditions.

Whether at its worst such a Government could make a greater mess of things than had been caused by the mixture of inefficiency and treason under the Government just overthrown, is another matter. The story of the transportation and supplies for the Russian army, since 1914, was the first count in the indictment of the Czar's régime. But when, in addition to this—in a country which has harvested, all told, something like 2,000,000,000 bushels of wheat since the war began; which in times of peace exports one-third of its crop; which for two years has been prevented by blockade from exporting any of it, and which therefore has thousands of acres in South Russia covered with heaps of grain rotting on the ground—when under such conditions the Government managed its transportation system so stupidly or treacherously that Petrograd and Moscow got last month to the verge of famine, the inference is not unreasonable that, even in the economic field, no change could be for the worse. It may be vastly for the better.

# BOOKS OF THE WEEK

## FICTION

Abbott, E. H. The Stingy Receiver. Century. $1 net.
Allen, H. W. The Unbroken Line. San Francisco: Paul Elder. $2 net.
David, C. B. Her Own Sort and Others. Scribner. $1.35 net.
Dejeans, E. The Tiger's Coat. Bobbs-Merrill. $1.50 net.
DeMeyer, Baroness. Nadine Narska. Wilmarth. $1.35 net.
Deeping, W. Martin Valliant. McBride. $1.40 net.
Dodge, L. Children of the Desert. Scribner. $1.35 net.
French, A. The Hiding Places. Scribner. $1.35 net.
Garland, H. They of the High Trails. Harper. $1.35 net.
Geraldy, P. The War, Madame. Scribner. 75 cents.
Hanshew, T. W. Cleek's Government Cases. Doubleday, Page. $1.35 net.
Hay, I. "Pip." Houghton Mifflin. $1.50 net.
Hughes, R. In a Little Town. Harper. $1.35 net.
Irwin, G. Brown-Eyed Susan. Arlington, N. J.: The Little Book Publisher. 75 cents.
Kerr, S. The Blue Envelope. Doubleday, Page. $1.35 net.
King, B. The Lifted Veil. Harper. $1.40 net.
Kryshanovskaya, V. The Torch-Bearers of Bohemia. McBride. $1.40 net.
Lay, W. Man's Unconscious Conflict. Dodd, Mead. $1.50.
Mackenzie, C. The Man Who Tried to Be It. Doran. $1 net.
Stevenson, G. A Little World Apart. Lane. $1.25 net.
Warren, C. M. The Phœnix. Houghton Mifflin. $1.40 net.
Watts-Dunton, T. Vesprie Towers. Lane. $1.35 net.

## MISCELLANEOUS

Beals, C. E. Passaconaway in the White Mountains. Badger. $1.50 net.
Calhoun, D. D. The Princess of Let's Pretend. Dutton. $1.50 net.
Collier Classics: American Patriots and Statesmen from Washington to Lincoln. 5 volumes. Edited by W. A. Neilson. P. F. Collier & Son.
Doty, M. Z. Short Rations—An American Woman in Germany, 1915-16. Century Co. $1.50 net.
Dunn, W. H. English Biography. Dutton. $1.50 net.
Goldziher, I. Mohammed and Islam. Translated by K. C. Seelye. Introduction by Morris Jastrow. Yale University Press. $3 net.
Hudson, W. H. Idle Days in Patagonia. Dutton. $1.50 net.
Hurry, J. B. Poverty and its Vicious Circles. Blakiston. $2 net.
Kamman, W. F. Socialism in German-American Literature. Philadelphia: Americana Germanica Press. $1.50.
Mathews, G. S. Treasure. Holt. $2 net.
Meeker, J. E. The Life and Poetry of James Thomason. Yale University Press. $1.75 net.
Mythology of All Races. Vol. VI.—Indian, Iranian. Marshall Jones Co.
New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by Sir James A. H. Murray, and Others. Vol. IX-SI-Th. Oxford University Press.
Schinz, A. J. J. Rousseau, et le libraire-imprimeur Marc-Michel Rey, Les relations personnelles. Genève: Chez A. Jullien.
Seton, E. T. The Woodcraft Manual for Boys. Doubleday, Page.
Shorter, C. The Brontës and Their Circle. Dutton. 50 cents net.
Sprague, H. B. Studies in Shakespeare. Pilgrim Press. $1.25 net.
Stewart, C. H. Winning Out. Arlington, N. J.: The Little Book Publishing Co. 75 cents.
Swinnerton, F. The Chaste Wife. Doran. $1.50 net.
The New Europe. Vol. I. A Weekly Review of Foreign Politics. London: Constable & Co., Ltd.
Trites, W. B. Biran Banaker's Autobiography. Knopf. $2 net.
Weekley, E. Surnames. Dutton. $2.25 net.
Wilson, C. H. Talks to Young People on Ethics. Scribner.

## RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Lamb, A. M. Twilight: The Sign of His Coming. Badger. $1.50.

## GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMICS

Deland, L. F. At the Sign of the Dollar. Harper. $1.25 net.
Evans, L. B. Leading Cases on International Law. Chicago: Callaghan & Co.
French, G. How to Advertise. Doubleday, Page. $2 net.
Montague, G. H. Business Competition and the Law. Putnam. $1.75 net.
Questions of the Hour, Social, Economic, and Industrial. Prepared by J. L. Wilson. H. W. Wilson Co.
Reed, H. B. The Morals of Monopoly and Competition. Banta Publishing Company.
Reely, M. K. Immigration. H. W. Wilson Co.
Reely, M. K. Minimum Wage. H. W. Wilson Co.
Van Valkenburgh, A. Military Training in Schools and Colleges. H. W. Wilson Co.

## BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Brittain, H. E. To Verdun from the Somme. Lane. $1 net.
Graham, S. Russia in 1916. Macmillan. $1.25 net.

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Hazen, C. D. The French Revolution and Napoleon. Holt. $2.50 net.
Johnson, R. The Fight for the Republic. Putnam. $2.50 net.
Locke, A. A. The Hanbury Family. Vols. I and II. London: A. L. Humphreys.
Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine. Paris: Auguste Picard.
Marcosson, I. F. The War After the War. Lane. $1.25 net.

POETRY

Booty, C. E. Nothing but a Soldier Boy and Other Poems. Gorham Press.
Brandt, H. A. The Widowed Earth. Badger. $1 net.
Brown, A. The Road to Castaly, and later poems.
Brownson, E. L. La Venus de La Habana. Badger. $1 net.
Clarke, M. L. Riddles in Rhyme. Badger. $1.25 net.
Collected Poems of James Elroy Flecker. Introduction by J. C. Squire. Doubleday, Page. $2 net.
Daw, B. Songs of Inexperience. Badger. 75 cents.
Gibbs, A. K. Songs of Colorado. Badger. $1.25.
How, L. A Hidden Well. Sherman, French. $1 net.
Rostrevor, G. Stars and Fishes and Other Poems. Lane. $1.25 net.
Spooner, A. W. Harp Strings. Badger. 75 cents.
The Oxford Book of English Mystical Verse. Chosen by D. H. S. Nicholson and A. H. E. Lee. Oxford University Press.

SCIENCE

Publications of the Astronomical Observatory of the University of Michigan. Vol. II. Ann Arbor, Michigan: By the University.
Sylvan, F. Natural Painless Childbirth and the Determination of Sex. Dutton. 75 cents net.
Willson, R. N. The Education of the Young in Sex Hygiene. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Co.

DRAMA AND MUSIC

Cromer, J. M. Jeptha's Daughter. Badger. $1 net.
James, M. F. Weighed in the Balance. Badger. $1 net.
MacKaye, P. The Canterbury Pilgrims. Macmillan.
Pape, L. The Bravest Thing in the World. Philadelphia: Penn Publishing Company.

TEXTBOOKS

Ein Volksfeind, Schauspiel in Fünf Akten von Henrik Ibsen. Edited by J. L. Boysen. Oxford German Series. Oxford University Press.
Goethe's Hermann and Dorothea. Edited by F. W. C. Lieder. Oxford German Series. Oxford University Press. $1.
Huebsch, R. W., and Smith, R. F. Progressive Lessons in German. Part I. Revised. Heath. 70 cents.
Legouve, and Scribe. Adrienne Lecouvreur. Edited by T. E. Hamilton. Oxford French Series. Oxford University Press. 60 cents.
Licks, H. E. Recreations in Mathematics. D. Van Nostrand. $1.25 net.
Sand, G. Le Marquis de Villemer. Edited by C. E. Young. Oxford French Series. Oxford University Press. 60 cents.
Sappho, Trauerspiel in Fünf Aufzügen von Franz Grillparzer. Edited by J. L. Lind. Oxford German Series. Oxford University Press. 75 cents.
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# Summary of the News

REVOLUTION in Russia, long overdue, matured last week so quietly and completely as to make the manner of it more sensational than if the streets of Petrograd had been drenched in blood. The news was not altogether unexpected. It has been notorious for months that Russia's part in the war was carried on by the will of the Russian people, aided by the organization of the zemstvos, and in spite of the inefficiency and scarcely disguised opposition of the bureaucracy. Recently reports of food shortage in Petrograd, declared by the authorities to be unavoidable, and the announcement of an imperial order dissolving the Duma were followed by some days of complete silence. The first news of the revolution came from German and Swedish sources on Thursday of last week, and was speedily confirmed from London and then from Petrograd.

ACCOUNTS of the movement are naturally still confused in detail, but the succession of events is tolerably clear. It began on March 8 with incipient food riots and labor strikes. Mounted troops were called out to preserve order in the streets, and from the first there was noticeable cordiality between the crowds, for the most part orderly, and the Cossacks. On March 10 (the Saturday of the momentous week) the troops, apparently with little provocation, were ordered to fire on the people, and refused. Their place was taken by police, using rifles and machine-guns, and clashes then occurred between the troops and the police. Sunday night, March 11, appears to have been the deciding moment of the revolution, when a regiment, on being ordered to fire on strikers, refused and shot its officers. Other regiments gradually joined the revolt throughout Sunday night and Monday, and by the afternoon of that day military and populace seem to have reached a complete accord against the common enemy, the police. On Monday, too (March 11), the Duma, headed by its President, M. Rodzianko, met in executive session, in defiance of the imperial rescript dissolving the body, and decided to put itself at the head of the revolution, authorizing its executive council to declare the Government overthrown and to organize a provisional Government.

THEREAFTER events moved quickly. From messages sent to the Czar by M. Rodzianko, immediately after the Duma's resolution was taken, it would seem, though it is by no means certain, that by prompt recognition of the situation that monarch might even then have been allowed to transform himself into a constitutional sovereign. The opportunity, if it existed, was not, however, seized, and at midnight on March 15, at Pskoff, Nicholas abdicated on behalf of himself and of the heir apparent, the Grand Duke Alexis, delegating the throne to his brother, the Grand Duke Michael. The latter accepted the responsibility only with the provision that Russia's future form of government should be decided by plébiscite through a constituent assembly. Meanwhile he urges obedience to the present provisional Government. The texts of the manifestoes of the ex-Czar and of Grand Duke Michael were published in Sunday's papers.

PRINCE GEORGES E. LVOFF heads the new Cabinet, the composition of which was announced in dispatches from Petrograd of March 16, as Premier, President of the Council, and Minister of the Interior. The Foreign Minister is Prof. Paul N. Milyukoff, and the War and Navy Departments are placed temporarily in charge of M. A. J. Guchkoff. In announcing its personnel the new Government issued an appeal to the people beginning "Citizens"—historic word—and proceeding to a statement of democratic policies. On the previous day an appeal to the army and navy had been issued, and on Sunday Professor Milyukoff sent to Russian diplomats abroad a statement explaining the revolution and its purposes and instructing the representatives to make known to the Governments to which they were accredited Russia's unalterable resolve to prosecute the war to a victorious conclusion.

SUMMARIZING results at the time of writing, the following conclusions seem to stand out: The revolution, begun in Petrograd and taken up in other cities and towns of the Empire, is completely successful, and almost bloodless; it is not, as even Berlin papers reluctantly bear witness, the uprising of a hungry populace, tired of war and demanding peace, but of a people bent on victory against an oligarchy riddled by German influence and ready to betray the nation to the enemy; the revolution has the support of the army and navy and is endorsed by such military leaders as Gen. Brussiloff, Gen. Alexieff, Chief of Staff, and the Grand Duke Nicholas.

PUBLIC opinion has not hesitated to connect with events in Russia, casting their shadows before, the German Chancellor's impromptu speech in the Prussian Diet on March 14, in which he hastened to promise a political reorganization of the Empire after the war involving a greater share by the people in the conduct of imperial affairs. Whether the Chancellor was in time with his promises remains to be seen; there has been of late a marked increase in plain-speaking in Germany.

BRITISH and French progress on the western front has been so remarkable that but for the coincidence of the Russian revolution, a threatened railway strike at home, and the torpedoing of American ships, it would have been the sensational topic of the week. Reserving fuller comment for our editoral columns, we can only record here that the German retreat has attained a rate of progress so rapid as to encourage doubts of its purely voluntary and strategic quality. The occupation by Sir Douglas Haig's troops of the ridge dominating Bapaume, on March 13, was the prelude to the evacuation of the powerful fortification itself by the Germans on March 17, and on the same day the French captured Roye. Fighting now in the open and over ground drying under favorable conditions of weather, British and French pushed the pursuit over a front of some eighty-five miles, from Arras to Soissons, occupying, on March 18 and 19, Péronne, Noyon, Ham, and Chauny, and pressing along the high road towards St. Quentin and Cambrai. News of the British expedition on the Tigris is equally favorable. The Turkish retreat there is described as a

(*Continued on next page.*)


# The Capture of Bagdad

by British troops, the onward sweep of the Grand Duke Michael in Armenia, the British army striking at Jerusalem, the overthrow of the Turkish yoke in Arabia by the proclamation of the Grand Sherif of Mecca, are the natural sequence of the fatuous policy of the Evil Three in Constantinople, culminating in the downfall of the Turkish Empire in the near future.

The masterful diplomacy of Britain has retrieved the splendid failure of Gallipoli and brought under direct British influence the spiritual well-being of over two hundred and fifty millions of Moslems from the shores of the Adriatic to the Philippines. While the eyes of the civilized world are centred on Turkey's impending fate and the future of the Moslem faith, the Yale University Press issues an opportune work, entitled "Mohammed and Islam," by Professor Goldziher, the greatest living authority in Islamic theology. The present volume is a summary of the author's profound studies in that field, and it is one of absorbing interest at the present time. The translation from the German is by Kate Chambers Seelye.

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(*Continued from preceding page.*)

rout. The British at the end of last week were more than thirty miles beyond Bagdad, and Russian successes in the neighborhood of Kermanshah hold out prospects of an early junction of the two forces.

SUBMARINES only achieved the inevitable last week, when they sent to the bottom four American ships, two of them, at least, without warning of any kind. The Algonquin was sunk without warning on March 13, all of the crew saving themselves despite amiable attentions from the submarine's gun. Sinking of the other three vessels, City of Memphis, Illinois, and Vigilancia, was announced on Sunday. The last of these received no warning, and fifteen of her crew perished. The British report of losses by submarines, issued on March 14, for the week March 4-11, gave a total of thirteen vessels of more than 1,600 tons sunk, and four of less than 1,600 tons.

ZEPPELINS made an attack over the southeastern counties of England on the night of March 16, without, according to official British statements, doing any damage. One of the Zeppelins, the L-39, was brought down at Compiègne, near Paris, on its return journey.

FRANCE again faces a political crisis, brought about immediately by the resignation of Gen. Lyautey as Minister for War, on March 14. M. Briand, having vainly attempted to reconstitute his Cabinet, resigned on Saturday of last week. The President then invited M. Deschanel, who declined, to form a Ministry, and subsequently M. Ribot, who announced the composition of his Cabinet on Monday.

DIPLOMATIC relations with Germany were broken off by China on March 14. The official Chinese statement explaining the severance as being due to German disregard of international and human law in her submarine campaign was published in Sunday's papers.

JUSTICE towards Colombia still lags. The Senate adjourned *sine die* on March 16 without having ratified the treaty. On the other hand, young Dr. Grayson received confirmation as a Rear-Admiral before the Senate concluded its labors.

HAD the railway Brotherhoods waited for the decision of the Supreme Court, which on Monday upheld the Adamson Eight-Hour law as constitutional, much perturbation would have been saved. Instead they demanded complete submission to their demands by the railways under threat of a progressive general strike to go into effect last Saturday night. They were frank in giving their reasons for impatience; if war came they would not feel like striking, and in the event of the Supreme Court's decision being against them their increase of pay (for they have ceased even to pretend that the Eight-Hour law is anything else) would be indefinitely postponed. In view of the decision of the Supreme Court it would be in the nature of an anti-climax to record in detail the President's intervention in the dispute, the postponement of the strike for forty-eight hours, and the final yielding of the companies to the demands of the men under pressure of the national crisis.


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